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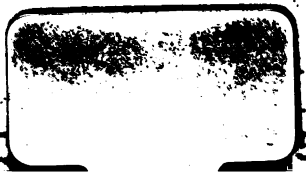

# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# LIFE AND REIGN

OF

# FREDERICK THE THIRD,

# KING OF PRUSSIA.

---

By JOSEPH TOWERS, L.L.D.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

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### CHAP. XVII.

*The king of Pruſſia demands an explanation of the empreſs-queen, relative to the deſign of her military preparations.—Is diſſatisfied with her anſwer, and reſolves on the immediate commencement of hoſtilities.—Publiſhes a declaration of his motives for oppoſing the court of Vienna.—Demands a paſſage for his troops through the electorate of Saxony.—Enters the electorate with a large army, and publiſhes a manifeſto.—The king of Poland retires from Dreſden, and repairs to the camp at Pirna.*

IN the laſt chapter of the preceding volume, I have given an account of the formidable confederacy that was entered into againſt the king of Pruſſia, in caſe of his giving riſe to a new war; and it ſoon appeared, that the court of Vienna, having ſtrengthened itſelf by its alliances with Ruſ-

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ſia and with France, and reckoning alſo upon the aſſiſtance of the elector of Saxony, was far from being unwilling that a new war ſhould commence. To this the empreſs-queen, and her miniſters, were the more inclined, from the hope of thereby regaining poſſeſſion of Sileſia, and even of making farther conqueſts upon the Pruſſian monarch, if their arms, and thoſe of their allies, ſhould prove victorious. As to Frederick, he was always prepared for war, and was not eaſily to be intimidated by the number or the power of his enemies. He was alſo well known to be eminently diſtinguiſhed by the vigour of his reſolutions, the deciſion of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions.

GREAT military preparations had now been made both by the empreſs-queen, and by the king of Pruſſia; and in the month of July, 1756, M. Klingraafe, the Pruſſian miniſter at Vienna, acquainted count Kaunitz, that he had received an expreſs from the king his maſter, which brought him ſome diſpatches. The contents of theſe diſpatches, he ſaid, he was to lay before the empreſs-queen in perſon; and he was enjoined for that purpoſe to demand of her imperial majeſty a private audience, which he deſired the count would be pleaſed to procure for him. To this the count aſſented; but at the ſame time informed the Pruſſian miniſter, that it was proper he ſhould be enabled, at leaſt in general terms, to give the empreſs previous notice of the nature of the communi-

cations,

cations, which he had orders to make to her majesty. M. Klingraafe thereupon told him, that he was charged to demand amicably, and by way of eclaircissement, in the name of the king his master, what was the intention of the armaments, and warlike preparations, making in the dominions of the empress-queen, and whether they might not, perhaps, concern him; which, however, he could not imagine, as he was conscious that he had not given the least occasion for them. Count Kaunitz replied, that he could not then make an answer to what was said on the part of his Prussian majesty; but he would immediately make a report of it to the empress, and procure M. Klingraafe the audience he desired. In the mean time, he could not, however, he said, forbear telling him, that he was much surprized at the explanation which the king his master demanded, concerning the measures taken in the empress's dominions, when her imperial majesty had expressed no uneasiness, or umbrage, at the great motions and preparations which had been previously made in the Prussian army[1].

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On the 26th of July, M. Klingraafe obtained an audience of the empress-queen, and communicated to her majesty the instructions he had received from his master. But the audience was extremely short, agreeably to the advice which had been given to the empress by her ministers. She only

[1] Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony exposed, published in the Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 220.

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replied, "That in the violent and general criſis "which Europe was then in, her duty, and the "dignity of her crown required her, to take ſuf- "ficient meaſures for her own ſecurity, and to "make armaments, as well for her own defence, "as for the ſafety of her friends and allies; but "that theſe armaments did not tend to the pre- "judice of any body." Maria Thereſa then ſud- denly broke off the audience with a nod, without entering into any farther detail *.

As this general and laconic anſwer of the em- preſs was not ſatisfactory to the king of Pruſſia, he ſoon after ſent freſh orders to his miniſter, to re- preſent, by a memorial, that after the king had diſſembled, as long as he thought conſiſtent with his ſafety and honour, the bad deſigns which were imputed to the empreſs would no longer ſuffer him to diſguiſe his ſentiments. He now, therefore, thought it neceſſary to inform her, that he was acquainted with the offenſive projects which had been formed between the courts of Vienna and Peterſburgh. He knew, that they had engaged to attack him ſuddenly, with an army of two hun- dred thouſand men: a deſign which would have been executed in the ſpring of the year, had not the Ruſſian army wanted recruits, their fleet mari- ners, and Livonia a ſufficient quantity of corn for their ſupport. His Pruſſian majeſty conſtituted

* Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony expoſed, publiſhed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 160, 221.

the

the empreſs, he ſaid, arbiter of peace or war. If ſhe deſired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next. But, it was added, he ſhould conſider an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witneſs, that the empreſs alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and of all the diſmal conſequences that would attend the commiſſion of hoſtilities [3].

CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.

An anſwer was returned on the part of the empreſs-queen, it which it was ſtated, That his majeſty the king of Pruſſia had already been employed, for ſome time, in all kinds of the moſt conſiderable preparations of war, and the moſt diſquieting with regard to the public tranquility, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majeſty, concerning the military diſpoſitions that were making in her dominions; diſpoſitions on which ſhe had not reſolved, till after the preparations of his Pruſſian majeſty had been made. Her majeſty, it was ſaid, might have declined explaining herſelf on thoſe ſubjects, as they required no explanation; but ſhe had been pleaſed to declare, with her own mouth, to M. Klingraafe, that the critical ſtate of public affairs rendered the meaſures ſhe was taking abſolutely neceſſary for her own ſafety, and that of her allies; but that, in other reſpects, they tended

[3] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 8, 9.

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to the prejudice of no perſon whatſoever. Her imperial majeſty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment ſhe pleaſed on the circumſtances of the times; and it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger. Her declaration, ſhe ſaid, was ſo clear, that ſhe never imagined it would be thought otherwiſe. Her imperial majeſty complained of the offenſive language which was made uſe of in M. Klingraafe's memorial, and which ſhe conſidered as inconſiſtent with that decorum, which ſovereigns owe to each other. She afterwards declared, that the information communicated to his Pruſſian majeſty of an *offenſive* alliance againſt him, ſubſiſting between herſelf and the empreſs of Ruſſia, together with the circumſtances and pretended ſtipulations of that alliance, were abſolutely falſe and forged, for no ſuch treaty did exiſt, or ever had exiſted. After receiving this anſwer, the king of Pruſſia once more declared, by his miniſter at Vienna, that if the empreſs-queen would ſign a poſitive aſſurance, that ſhe would not attack him either that year, or the following, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be reſtored to their former footing. But the empreſs declined ſigning any ſuch declaration, alleging, that ſuch an aſſurance could not be more binding, than the ſolemn treaty by which his Pruſſian majeſty was already ſecured; a treaty, which, her imperial majeſty ſaid, ſhe had no intention to violate [4].

[4] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 9, 10.

FREDERICK

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FREDERICK now formed the resolution of immediately commencing hostilities; and thereby involved himself in a long and most hazardous war, in the course of which he acquired a high degree of military fame, but which occasioned a great effusion of human blood, and was productive of much calamity to the Prussian dominions, as well as to the neighbouring countries. Even count Hertzberg himself seems not quite satisfied with the precipitation, with which the king engaged in this war. Speaking of the designs which were supposed to be formed against Frederick, in consequence of the eventual treaty of partition, he says, 'It is manifest, that such designs existed, 'but as they were only conditional, and depended 'on the event of the king of Prussia giving rise to a 'war, it must always remain problematical, whe-'ther these projects would ever have been put in 'execution, and whether it would have been most 'dangerous to wait the event, or to anticipate it. 'However that be, the curiosity of the king, and 'the inconsiderable circumstance of treachery in a 'Saxon clerk, were the certain cause of that dread-'ful war of seven years, which immortalized Frede-'rick and the Prussian nation, but which also al-'most overwhelmed it, and brought it to the brink 'of destruction[s].'

[s] Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 18, 19.

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WITH a view of juſtifying his conduct, in taking up arms, to the other powers of Europe, Frederick publiſhed, at Berlin, "A Declaration "of the motives which have obliged his majeſty, "the king of Pruſſia, to prevent the deſigns of the "court of Vienna." In this piece, his Pruſſian majeſty endeavoured to ſhew, that though he was the firſt who took up arms, yet he was not the aggreſſor; he ſtated the haughty behaviour of the empreſs-queen, and her refuſal to give any ſatisfactory anſwer to the requiſitions which he had made to her by his miniſter, M. Klingraafe; and he repreſented the court of Vienna as having formed the moſt pernicious deſigns againſt the liberties of the Germanic body in general, as well as againſt himſelf. His declaration concluded with the following paſſage: 'Since the court of Vienna will 'break through treaties guarantied by all the powers 'of Europe; ſince their ambition wantonly over-'turns the moſt ſacred bars to the avarice of man-'kind; and ſince they want to open to themſelves a 'way to deſpotiſm over the German empire; and 'their vaſt deſigns aim at nothing leſs than to over-'throw that republic of princes, which it is the 'duty of emperors to ſupport; the king has re-'ſolved generouſly to oppoſe the enemies of his 'country, and to prevent the fatal conſequences of 'this wicked project. His majeſty declares, that 'the liberties of the Germanic body ſhall not be 'buried but in the ſame grave with Pruſſia. He

'calls

'calls heaven to witneſs, that having, to no pur- CHAP. XVII. A. D. 1756.
'poſe, employed the moſt proper means to pre-
'ſerve his own dominions, and all Germany, from
'the calamities of war, with which they were
'threatened, he is forced to take up arms, to
'diſſipate a conſpiracy formed againſt his poſſeſ-
'ſions and his crown, after having tried every
'method of reconciliation, even ſo far as to leave
'the empreſs arbiter of peace or war. If his ma-
'jeſty departs from his uſual moderation, it is only
'becauſe it ceaſes to be a virtue, when his honour,
'his independency, his country, and his crown,
'are at ſtake [6].'

BUT before the publication of this piece, the Pruſſian miniſter at Dreſden had demanded a private audience of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and expreſſed himſelf to the following purpoſe: That his royal maſter, the king of Pruſſia, finding himſelf obliged by the empreſs-queen to attack her, and to march into Bohemia through the territories of Saxony, he accordingly, in the name of the king his maſter, demanded a paſſage for his troops through the electoral dominions of his Poliſh majeſty, promiſing that they ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and take all the care of the country, that the circumſtances would permit; and that his Poliſh majeſty, and his royal family, might at the ſame time depend upon being in perfect ſafety, and of having the greateſt reſpect paid them on the

[6] London Magazine, vol. XXV. p. 483.

part

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part of his Pruſſian majeſty. But it was added by the Pruſſian miniſter, that there could be no room for ſurprize, that the king of Pruſſia ſhould take ſuch meaſures, as might prevent a return of what happened in the year 1744; and that the neceſſity, which the king his maſter was under of acting in this manner, could only be imputed to the calamity of the times, and to the behaviour of the court of Vienna. His Poliſh majeſty replied, 'That as he 'was at peace with all the world, and under no 'engagement, relative to the preſent object, with 'any of the powers actually at war, or with any of 'thoſe about to enter into it, he did not expect 'ſuch a requiſition, and eſpecially in the form in 'which it had been made to him; but that he 'ſhould give an anſwer upon this ſubject in writing, 'and hoped that his Pruſſian majeſty, contenting 'himſelf with a quiet paſſage, would neither forget 'the reſpect due to a ſovereign, nor that which all 'the members of the Germanic body reciprocally 'owed to each other [7].'

His Poliſh majeſty ſoon after ordered a written anſwer to be delivered to the Pruſſian miniſter, in which it was obſerved, 'That his majeſty the king 'of Poland, deſiring nothing more ardently than 'the peace of the Roman empire, was extremely 'concerned to hear of the differences between the 'houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburgh, ſo as to oc-

[7] Entick's General Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 67, 68.

caſion

'casion the march of the Prussian troops into 'Bohemia; but that he did not refuse the requisi- 'tion of a passage for these troops through his do- 'minions, provided they did no damage in their 'march; and that the Prussian troops should ob- 'serve a strict discipline, according to the declara- 'tion of his Prussian majesty.' It was farther added, 'That the king of Poland expected that his Prus- 'sian majesty should previously make known at 'what time, through what place, and in what 'numbers, his troops were to pass, in order that 'the king of Poland might appoint commissaries, 'and give them instructions how to direct the troops 'in their march. He hoped, that his Prussian 'majesty, as a friend and good neighbour, would 'pay a regard to the bad state of the country, and 'the scarcity occasioned by the indifferent harvest 'that year; that he would cause ready money, and 'a market-price, to be paid for every thing that 'his troops might want; and that he would let 'their stay be as short as possible [2].'

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BUT the regulations and stipulations required by the king of Poland, previously to the marching of the Prussian troops through his dominions, were not suitable to the views and designs of the king of Prussia. Before any formalities of this kind could take place, the Prussian troops had already entered the electorate of Saxony. The Prussian army con-

[2] Entick's General Hist. of the War, p. 69, 70.

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ſiſted of near ſeventy battalions, and eighty ſquadrons, and being divided into three different corps, entered the electorate on the 29th of Auguſt. The right wing compoſed one of theſe corps, and marched, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, from the duchy of Magdebourg, by Hall, Leipſic, Freyberg, and thence towards Dreſden, the place intended for the rendezvous of the army. The center, commanded by the king in perſon, compoſed the ſecond corps, and marched on the left of the Elbe, by Wittenberg, Torgau, Meiſſen, and thence by Keſſeldorff to Dreſden. The left wing formed the third corps, and was commanded by the duke of Bevern, who marched from the neighbourhood of Franckfort on the Oder, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, oppoſite to Pirna. The whole Pruſſian army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, on the ſixth of September[9].

WHEN the king of Pruſſia marched his army into Saxony, he publiſhed the following manifeſto: 'As the unjuſt conduct, which the court of Vienna 'has hitherto obſerved towards his majeſty the 'king of Pruſſia, and the dangerous views of that 'court againſt his majeſty's dominions, lay him

[9] Hiſtory of the late War in Germany, between the king of Pruſſia, and the empreſs of Germany, and her allies, &c. written by major-general Lloyd, who ſerved ſeveral campaigns in the Auſtrian army, and afterwards in that of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, vol. I. p. 1, 2. edit. 4to. 1766.

'under

'under a neceſſity of taking proper meaſures for protecting his territories and ſubjects againſt the ſtorm with which they are threatened, by an enemy who hath rejected with contempt all propoſals of friendſhip; his Pruſſian majeſty, from a juſt conſideration of the prejudice, which might reſult from the intentions of the court of Vienna towards him, could not forbear taking the diſagreeable reſolution, to march his troops into the hereditary dominions of his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony.

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'His majeſty proteſts before God and man, that on account of his perſonal eſteem and friendſhip for the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the preſent conjuncture, and the neceſſity of providing for the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects.

'The events of the year 1744, in which his Pruſſian majeſty employed the power, which the providence of God had put into his hands, to hinder the court of Vienna from ſubjecting the Germanic empire to her yoke, and oppreſſing its head, are ſtill freſh in memory. All the world knows the tenderneſs, which his majeſty ſhewed towards the court of Saxony, during the campaign of that year; the bad conſequences which that court felt from its engagements with his majeſty's enemies; its furniſhing troops to aſſiſt in invading his

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'his territories in Silesia; and entering into the 'scheme for attacking him in the center of his 'dominions, and even in his capital.

'The apprehension of being again exposed to 'such enterprizes, has laid his Prussian majesty 'under a necessity of being upon his guard, and of 'taking, in his present situation, those precautions 'which prudence dictates. As to the rest, as it is 'against his inclination, that he sees himself forced 'to march his troops into the territories of Saxony, 'he hath thought proper to declare, in the most 'solemn manner, as well to his majesty the king of 'Poland, as to all Europe, that he was not induced 'to take this step by any hostile views against his 'Polish majesty, or against his dominions; assur-'ing them, with great sincerity, that his troops 'enter not Saxony as enemies, that he marches 'them into it only for his own safety, and that of 'his dominions; and that he hath given orders, 'that they shall observe, agreeably to his royal in-'tentions, the best order, and the most exact 'discipline.

'After the urgent motives that have constrained 'his Prussian majesty, against his will, to take this 'step, he desires nothing more ardently, than the 'happy minute that shall procure him the satis-'faction of restoring to his majesty, the king of 'Poland, his hereditary dominions, which the king 'hath not seized, and doth not occupy, but as a

DEPOSIT,

DEPOSIT, which is, and always shall be, sacred to him [10].

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WHEN the king of Poland found that his dominions were likely to be invaded, he had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and to assemble in a strong camp, marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. On the approach of the Prussians, the king of Poland himself repaired to this camp, with his two sons, Xaverius and Charles; leaving the queen, and the rest of the royal family, at Dresden. Of this capital the king of Prussia took possession on the eighth of September, when he was visited by lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by count Salmour, a Saxon minister, who made a declaration, on the part of his master, that it was his Polish majesty's intention, not to take any part in the differences that had arisen between his Prussian majesty and the empress-queen. The Saxon minister assured his Prussian majesty, in the strongest terms, that this was the absolute determination of his master, the king of Poland; and he hoped that such strong assurances as these would satisfy the king of Prussia, and prevent his requiring any thing of his Polish majesty, or his subjects, which was contrary to the liberty of a prince of the empire, or that should oblige him to have recourse to

[10] London Mag. vol. XXV. p. 442, 443.

the

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the Germanic body, and the guaranties of the treaties of peace, for the due execution of thoſe treaties.

THE Britiſh and Saxon miniſters were received with great politeneſs by Frederick, who aſſured them, that he deſired nothing more than the neutrality propoſed by his Poliſh majeſty; but that, in order to render that neutrality more ſecure and permanent, it would be proper for the king of Poland to ſeparate his army, and to ſend the troops that he had aſſembled at Pirna back into their quarters; and that, after he had given this proof of his upright intentions, he himſelf would take a pleaſure, by an equal condeſcenſion, to manifeſt a diſpoſition to give real marks of his friendſhip for his Poliſh majeſty, and to concert, with him, what meaſures might be proper to be taken, according to the ſituation of affairs [11].

To the propoſition of the king of Pruſſia of removing the Saxon troops from the camp at Pirna, the king of Poland would not conſent. He naturally thought, that another prince could have no right to dictate to him, where he ſhould ſtation his own troops in his own dominions. He, therefore, reſolved to continue in his camp, which was very ſtrong, and which he appeared to conſider as impregnable.

[11] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 70, 71. Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 12.

CHAP.

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*The king of Pruſſia ſeizes the revenues of the electorate of Saxony.—Cauſes the ſecret cabinet at Dreſden, containing the archives of the electorate, to be broken open, notwithſtanding the perſonal oppoſition of the queen of Poland.—He attends divine ſervice at a Lutheran church in Dreſden.—The king of Poland ſolicits the mediation and aſſiſtance of the neutral powers of Europe, on the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of his electorate, and taking poſſeſſion of its government and revenues.—Memorial preſented by his Poliſh majeſty's reſident at the Hague to the States-general.—Declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia againſt the conduct of the king of Pruſſia.—Declaration of the king of France againſt him.—Three imperial decrees iſſued againſt him.—He publiſhes an elaborate memorial, in vindication of himſelf.*

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WHATEVER plauſible declarations might be made by Frederick, on his entrance into Saxony, it was ſoon manifeſt to the king of Poland, and to the inhabitants of his electorate, that they had little to expect either from the moderation, the equity, or the humanity of the Pruſſian monarch. When the Pruſſians arrived at Leipſic, an order was immediately iſſued to the inhabitants of that city, by the Pruſſian general, to provide the troops with proviſions at a loſing

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price, on pain of military execution. This was immediately followed, in the evening of the ſame day, by an order for the payment of all taxes and cuſtoms to the king of Pruſſia [A], whoſe officers had taken poſſeſſion of the cuſtom-houſe and exciſe-office. The merchants of Leipſic were alſo obliged to open their magazines of corn and meal for the uſe of the Pruſſian army [12].

ON his arrival at Dreſden, the king of Pruſſia was lodged at the houſe of the counteſs Moczinſka; and he ſent one of his officers to wait upon the queen of Poland, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that ſhe and her family ſhould be treated with the utmoſt reſpect and regard. Sentinels, however, were poſted within the palace in which the queen and royal family reſided; as alſo at the door of the ſecret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign tranſactions were depoſited. The queen entreated the Pruſſian monarch to remove the ſentinels which he had poſted within the palace, and contiguous paſſages, agreeably to the aſſurances that he had

[A] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the riſe of the war of 1756, ſays, 'that the king of Pruſſia united himſelf with the houſe of 'Hanover, imagining he could keep the Ruſſians out of Pruſſia 'with one hand, and the French out of Germany with the 'other. He was miſtaken in both theſe imaginings; but there 'was a third in which he was not miſtaken. This was, to invade Saxony under the pretence of friendſhip, and to make 'war upon the empreſs-queen of Hungary, with the money of 'which he ſhould rob the Saxons.' Memoires, p. 148.

[12] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 75, 76.

given,

given; that all due reſpect ſhould be obſerved towards the royal family. But Frederick was ſo far from complying with her requeſt, that he ordered the guards to be doubled, and ſent an officer to demand of her majeſty the keys of the ſecret cabinet. The queen obtained this officer's conſent, that the doors ſhould be ſealed up; but he afterwards returned with orders to break them open. Her majeſty then placed herſelf before the door, and ſaid, that ſhe truſted ſo much to the promiſe of the king of Pruſſia, that ſhe could not believe he had given ſuch orders. The officer affirmed, that his orders were poſitive, and that he durſt not diſobey them; but ſhe continued in the ſame place, declaring, that if violence was to be uſed, he muſt begin with her. The officer returning to acquaint the king with what had paſſed, her majeſty conjured the miniſters of Pruſſia and England to remind the Pruſſian monarch of his promiſe. But her repreſentations had no effect. The officer returned with freſh orders to uſe force, whatever oppoſition her Poliſh majeſty might make againſt it in perſon [B]. The queen was at length compelled

[B] The king of Pruſſia has been applauded for his politeneſs to the queen of Poland; and it has been mentioned as an inſtance of it, that when he was maſter of the palace and capital of the elector of Saxony, he was ſo far from exerciſing the rights of a conqueror there, that he modeſtly beſought permiſſion of her Poliſh majeſty to place his chair oppoſite to a painting of Corregio, in order to admire its beauties. But whatever politeneſs

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pelled to withdraw: the doors were forced, the cheſts broken open, and the papers ſeized [13]. The papers

neſs Frederick might manifeſt towards the queen of Poland, in matters of little importance, his conduct in other reſpects towards this princeſs, her huſband, and the electorate of Saxony, is ſuppoſed to have ſhortened her days. Voltaire ſays, 'Frederick entered Dreſden as maſter, under the name of protector. 'He demanded the keys of the archives from the queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joſeph, who had been unwilling to quit the place; and on her refuſing to give them up, 'took proper meaſures to force open the doors. The queen 'placed herſelf between them, flattering herſelf, that they would 'reſpect her perſon and reſolution; but they ſhewed no reſpect 'to either, and that depoſitary of the ſtate was opened before her 'eyes. It was of great conſequence to the king of Pruſſia, to 'find the proofs of the deſigns of Saxony againſt him. In fact, 'he found TESTIMONIES OF THE DREAD WHICH HE HAD 'OCCASIONED.' Speaking afterwards of his Poliſh majeſty quitting his electoral dominions, and retiring into Poland, Voltaire ſays, 'The queen of Poland, who did not follow her 'huſband, but remained in Dreſden, died ſoon after of grief. 'All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but, in the courſe 'of thoſe public calamities, millions of families experienced 'hardſhips not leſs great, though more obſcure. Upon the 'magiſtrates of Leipſic remonſtrating againſt the contributions 'impoſed on them by the conqueror, which they ſaid they could 'not pay, they were ſent to priſon, and then paid them.' *Age of Lewis XV.* ch. 32.

Dr. Smollett ſays, 'The invaſion of Saxony had well nigh 'produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The 'dauphineſs, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no 'ſooner learned the diſtreſsful circumſtances of her parents, the 'king and queen of Poland, than ſhe was ſeized with violent

[13] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 13, 14.

'fits,

papers of which the king of Pruſſia thus obtained poſſeſſion, were the originals of thoſe negociations between the courts of Dreſden, Vienna, and Peterſburgh, of which he had before procured copies, in conſequence of the treachery of a Saxon ſecretary, as I have already mentioned in a preceding chapter. CHAP. XVIII. A. D. 1756.

SOME time after Frederick's arrival at Dreſden, though he was not very fond of attending ſermons, he yet felt a curioſity to hear the ſuperintendant of the Lutherans in that city, whoſe eloquence as a preacher he had heard highly extolled. Accordingly he went to the church, where the ſuperintendant was expected to preach, accompanied by the prince of Pruſſia, the princes Henry and Ferdinand, mareſchal Keith, and ſeveral other general officers. The ſuperintendant, though he knew nothing of the king's coming, adapted his diſcourſe to the occaſion; but, without entering into any ſuch political ſtatements as might give offence to the Pruſſian monarch, he conſidered the invaſion of Saxony, and its preſent ſituation, as the conſequence of the decrees of the Almighty, who, when he ſtretches out his hand over the nations, brings about the

'fits, which occaſioned a miſcarriage, and brought her life into 'the moſt imminent danger. The Pruſſian miniſter was im- 'mediately ordered to quit Verſailles; and directions were diſ- 'patched to the French miniſter at Berlin, to retire from that 'court without taking leave.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 21.

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moſt unforeſeen events. But he ſlightly touched upon the ſingular circumſtance of two monarchs, at peace with each other, one of whom entered the territories of the other, who was thereby compelled to leave the capital of his dominions. He beſought the Almighty, with the utmoſt fervour, to put an end to the misfortunes of Saxony, by inclining the hearts of the two princes to a perfect re-union, that mutual peace and confidence might reign between their reſpective ſubjects. Then addreſſing himſelf to the king of Pruſſia, he recommended Saxony to his royal clemency and goodneſs. He conjured him to take compaſſion upon its deplorable ſtate, by all thoſe extraordinary talents, with which heaven had ſo liberally endowed him; and which were given, he ſaid, to the few who poſſeſſed them, with no other intent, than to be employed in the promotion of the happineſs of their fellow creatures. The ſuperintendant's ſermon is ſaid to have been ſo pathetic, as to draw tears from a great part of the audience. Frederick himſelf, if he was not affected, was at leaſt willing to put a good face upon the matter: for, when the ſervice was over, he ſent for the preacher, and ſaid to him, "Sir, your "diſcourſe equally pleaſed and edified me; and I "wiſh that your prayers may be heard [14]."

IT ſoon appeared, that his Pruſſian majeſty was determined to eaſe the king of Poland of all trouble, in the government of his electoral dominions. For

[14] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 590.

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he ſent an officer to acquaint the Saxon miniſters of ſtate, and the members of their council, that the king of Pruſſia would have no occaſion for their ſervices, but would appoint proper perſons to fill their places, and to diſcharge the duties of their offices. Baron Wyllech was appointed the Pruſſian governor of Dreſden; and he made priſoners of all the Saxon officers found in that city, and obliged them to ſwear not to ſerve againſt the king his maſter, before they could be releaſed. He alſo tranſported down the Elbe, to Magdebourg, all the artillery, arms, and other military ſtores, which had been laid up in the arſenals and magazines of Dreſden. Frederick likewiſe ordered the fortifications of Wirtemberg to be blown up, and Torgau to be fortified, at which place he eſtabliſhed the ſeat of the Saxon government, under a Pruſſian adminiſtration [15]. The magazines at Dreſden were now filled with an immenſe quantity of proviſion and forage for the Pruſſian army; and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vaſt quantity of bread, for which purpoſe thirty new ovens were erected [16].

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THE king of Poland, on being thus deprived of all authority in his electoral dominions, implored, by his miniſters, the aſſiſtance and mediation of the different neutral powers of Europe. In particular, his reſident at the Hague, M. Kauderbach, preſented a memorial to the States-general, dated

[15] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 76, 77.

[16] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 13.

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Sept. 29, 1756, in which are the following paſſages: 'The invaſion of the electorate of Saxony, 'by the Pruſſian troops, is one of thoſe attacks 'againſt the law of nations, which, from the great 'reſpect due to it, demands the aſſiſtance of every 'power intereſted in its own liberty and indepen-'dency. The king, my auguſt maſter, has ſeen 'his hereditary dominions invaded in a time of the 'profoundeſt peace; although his majeſty avoided, 'with the greateſt care, every meaſure that could 'poſſibly give the leaſt umbrage to his neigh-'bours.'—'A ſtate free, tranquil, and neuter, has 'been invaded by an enemy who diſguiſes himſelf 'under the maſk of friendſhip, who, without alleg-'ing the leaſt complaint, or any pretenſion what-'ſoever, but founding himſelf ſolely upon his con-'veniency, makes himſelf maſter, by armed force, 'of all the towns, and even of the capital; diſ-'mantles places, ſuch as Wirtemberg, and fortifies 'others, ſuch as Torgau.'—'The burghers are 'diſarmed, and the magiſtrates carried off, to ſerve 'as hoſtages for the unjuſt and enormous contri-'butions of proviſions and forage. The public coffers are ſeized, the revenues of the electorate 'confiſcated, the arſenals of Dreſden, of Leipſic, 'of Weiſſenfels, and of Zeitz, have been broken 'open, and the artillery and the arms plundered, 'and tranſported to Magdeburgh [17].'

[17] Saxon Memorial preſented at the Hague, printed in the Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 167, 168.

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THIS memorial also stated, in very strong terms, the personal indignity with which the queen of Poland had been treated. 'It was from the sacred 'hands of that august princess,' it was said, 'that 'the archives of the state were forced away, by 'menaces and violence, notwithstanding the security 'which her majesty might promise herself under the 'protection of all laws, human and divine, and 'notwithstanding the reiterated assurances given to 'her, in the name of the king of Prussia, that not 'only her person and residence should be absolutely 'safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be 'under her orders.'—'This princess has seen the 'activity of the privy-council abolished, and, in-'stead of the lawful government, an arbitrary 'directory substituted, which acknowledges no 'other law but its own will.'—'Such have been 'the first exploits of a prince, who declares that he 'undertakes the war solely to defend the liberty of 'the Germanic body, and to protect the Protestant 'religion, to which he gives a stroke the more 'dreadful, as he begins with crushing that very 'state to which that religion owes its establishment, 'and the preservation of its most valuable rights; 'when, at the same time, he breaks through the 'most respectable laws, which constitute the union 'of the Germanic body, under the pretext of a 'defence, of which the empire at present stands in 'no need, except against himself. A solemn treaty 'of neutrality, which his majesty offered, nay,

'every

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'every security, that was compatible with his sove-
'reignty, were not sufficient to stop the projects
'formed to invade and crush Saxony. The king,
'retired within his camp, could have no occasion
'for any other argument but his own honour, and
'the affection of his people, for inducing him to
'reject (as, indeed, they deserved) the unprece-
'dented propofals which had been made to him,
'*To yield up the command of his army, and the govern-*
'*ment of his dominions, to the king of Prussia, during*
'*the present war.* The cause of Saxony is a com-
'mon cause to all the powers of Europe, as her
'fate foretels them what they must expect to un-
'dergo, when the law of nations, and the faith of
'treaties, are no more to be respected [18].'

AN answer to this memorial was afterwards presented to the States-general, by M. de Hellen, the Prussian minister at the Hague, in which the eventual treaty of partition was urged, in vindication of the conduct of his Prussian majesty [c]. The court of Saxony, it was said, had joined in the designs of the court of Vienna against the king of Prussia; "but, by consent of the principal parties, "they had been allowed this reservation, that "Saxony should not appear in it, till the king's

[18] Saxon Memorial, ut supra, p. 169.

[c] The king of Prussia had himself entered into a treaty of partition respecting the Austrian dominions in 1741. Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V, p. 72.

"forces

" forces ſhould be ſo weakened, or divided, that " they might then pull off the maſk with impunity [19]." It was added, that " the great preparations of the court of Vienna, joined to other " appearances, which betrayed the approaching " execution of that court's vaſt deſigns, having " obliged his Pruſſian majeſty to prevent them; he " was well informed, that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops freely paſs, and afterwards to wait events, in order to avail themſelves " of them, either by joining his enemies, or by " making a diverſion in his dominions [20]."

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In another memorial publiſhed by the king of Pruſſia, in vindication of his conduct reſpecting Saxony, is the following paſſage: 'The king of 'Pruſſia is ſenſibly touched with the ſituation of 'the king of Poland; but that prince can blame 'for it only that miniſter, whoſe counſels he fol-'lows [D], and who is not leſs an enemy to Saxony 'than to the king. It depended ſolely upon his 'Poliſh majeſty to have retired, at the beginning 'of theſe troubles, into his kingdom, and to have 'aſſiſted at the diet that was to have aſſembled at 'Warſaw. The king of Pruſſia was deſirous of it, 'and had furniſhed all the neceſſary conveniences

[19] Memoirs of Frederick III. ut ſupra, p. 170.

[20] Ibid. p. 171.

[D] The miniſter here meant was count BRUHL.

'for

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'for that purpoſe [x]; and it is not his fault, if 'that prince, ſtill following thoſe counſels he ought 'long ago to have ſuſpected, reſolved to remain in 'Saxony, to put himſelf at the head of his troops, 'and ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in his camp. All 'that the king could do, in theſe circumſtances, 'was to treat the king of Poland with that regard 'which is due to ſovereigns. This has been done, 'and ſhall be invariably continued for the future. 'The king of Poland may conſtantly expect from 'the king all the attention and reſpect compatible 'with the circumſtances. The neceſſary proviſions 'and refreſhments for his table are daily ſent to 'him. Nor have any difficulties ever been made 'to remit as much money to the queen, as ſhe 'deſired. Public ſecurity reigns throughout the 'country. The Pruſſian troops in it obſerve the 'moſt exact diſcipline; no complaint is made of 'plunder or of violence; and trade is carried on 'with as much ſecurity as in the very midſt of 'peace. If they are obliged to furniſh proviſions 'and forage to the king's army, it is a neceſſary 'conſequence of his majeſty's preſent circum-'ſtances; yet nothing has been done, even in this

[x] All that the king of Pruſſia required of his Poliſh majeſty was, that he ſhould leave his electoral dominions, and his army, to the care and management of his Pruſſian majeſty, till he ſhould think proper to relinquiſh them, and retire himſelf into Poland; but this modeſt requiſition the king of Poland was not ſufficiently reaſonable readily to comply with.

'reſpect,

'reſpect, but what is practiſed among the beſt re- 'gulated nations, in ſimilar caſes. If the archives 'have been opened, it was with no other intent 'than to procure the originals of ſeveral pieces, of 'which the king had copies before in his hands; 'but, with regard to the reſt, nothing has been 'touched[21].'

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BUT before news could have been received at Peterſburgh of the king of Pruſſia's invaſion of Saxony, the Ruſſian miniſters were directed to preſent a memorial at different foreign courts, in which it was ſtated, 'That as the ſole intent of the 'preparations, which the empreſs had ordered to 'be made the preceding ſpring, was to enable her 'to fulfil her engagements with her allies, in caſe 'any of them ſhould be attacked, the preparations 'were ſuſpended both by ſea and land, as ſoon as 'there was ground to hope that this caſe would not 'ſoon happen; in order that the whole world might 'be convinced, that her imperial Czariſh majeſty 'was no leſs forward to defend her allies, when 'threatened with an attack, than backward to 'throw Europe into an alarm without an extreme 'neceſſity. But that the king of Pruſſia, far from 'doing juſtice to the empreſs's ſentiments on this 'head, (though he remained quiet, whilſt prepara- 'tions were making by Ruſſia, and even ſome time 'after they had ceaſed) had all on a ſudden begun 'to make ſuch powerful armaments, as gave room

[21] Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 185, 186.

to

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'to apprehend, that the flames of war would immediately burſt out. Nevertheleſs Ruſſia, in order to avoid the multiplying of fears, and furniſhing the king of Pruſſia with a ſpecious pretext for diſturbing the public tranquility, had made no motions; in hopes that the king of Pruſſia, in imitation of this example, would not ſtir up ſuch troubles. But that this prince, having continued to arm with all his might, and without any interruption, and without alleging any other reaſon, than the idea he had formed to himſelf of an apprehended attack, had thereby ſufficiently intimated, that he ſought only a pretext to diſturb the peace of Europe. It was, in fact, inconteſtible, that when the king of Pruſſia was preſſing his armaments with the greateſt vigour, thoſe of Ruſſia had long ceaſed; and that thoſe of the empreſs-queen did not begin till the ſucceſſive motions of the Pruſſians, and the augmentations of their forces, gave room to think Bohemia and Moravia were in danger; inaſmuch as it was no ſecret, that the king of Pruſſia was diſguſted at the treaty of Verſailles; though this prince, when he ſigned his treaty with England, gave himſelf no concern about what the court of Vienna might think of it. It was, therefore, clear to her imperial Czariſh majeſty, that the king of Pruſſia ought to be conſidered as the firſt author of the troubles, which were going to break out, though he had affected to publiſh, that he took all thoſe

'meaſures

'measures only to defend himself against those de-
'signs of his enemies, which had no existence but
'in his own imagination.'—'In consideration of all
'these circumstances, the empress of Russia could
'no longer conceal her real sentiments, nor forbear
'declaring, that as she could not behold with in-
'difference any attack made upon the dominions of
'her allies, particularly those of the empress-queen
'of Hungary, and the electorate of Saxony, she
'would furnish speedy and powerful succours to the
'party unjustly attacked, and would not think
'herself in any wise responsible for the consequences,
'which the present menacing conduct of his Prus-
'sian majesty might draw after it [22].'

BEFORE the king of Prussia's invasion of Saxony, the king of France had also published a declaration, relative to the demand of the former for a passage for his troops through the electorate, in which is the following passage: 'His most Christian majesty
'cannot but consider the requisition, made by the
'king of Prussia to the king of Poland, elector of
'Saxony, for the passage of his troops through
'that electorate, as nothing less than a declaration,
'that he is determined to usurp that to which he has
'neither absolute right, nor equitable claim. That
'by this usurpation, committed in a time of pro-
'found peace, against the elector of Saxony, at the
'time when that prince relied, with unsuspecting
'security, upon the faith of the treaty of Dresden,

[22] Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 84, 85, 86.

'and

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'and the assurances of friendship which the king of 'Prussia had given him, the king of Prussia had 'violated the public peace, the treaty of West-'phalia, all the laws and constitutions of the em-'pire, and every tie by which the members of the 'Germanic body are united [23].'

THREE imperial decrees were likewise published against the king of Prussia. In one of these, as head of the empire, the emperor admonished the Prussian monarch on his conduct respecting Saxony, and commanded him to withdraw his troops from that electorate, on pain of being proceeded against according to the laws of the empire. By the second, he absolved all the vassals of the empire, found in his service, from their oaths of fidelity, and commanded them to leave the Prussian standard. By the third, he prohibited all the princes, states, and other members of the empire, from suffering their subjects to enlist themselves in the Prussian service, or otherwise to afford any kind of assistance to his Prussian majesty [24].

VINDICATIONS of Frederick's conduct were presented by his ministers at the diet of Ratisbon; and he also published a piece, of considerable length, under the title of "A Memorial, exhibiting the "conduct of the courts of Vienna and Dresden to-"wards the king of Prussia, and their dangerous

[23] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 498.

[24] Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 81. Smollett's Hist. ut supra, vol. IV. p. 19, 20.

"designs

"designs againſt him: together with the original "documents in proof of them[25]." It contained an account of the negociations concerning him between the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Saxony, together with the ſecret articles of the treaty concluded at Peterſburgh, in 1746, from which I have already given ſome extracts in the firſt volume of theſe Memoirs. This publication, which was drawn up with much art and addreſs, made a great impreſſion in Frederick's favour in ſome parts of Europe, and eſpecially in England. It was not ſufficiently conſidered, that the formidable confederacy againſt him had been occaſioned by his own conduct; by the manner in which he had wreſted Sileſia from the houſe of Auſtria, by his invaſion of Bohemia after the treaty of Breſlaw, by his behaviour reſpecting the electorate of Saxony, and the conſtant alarm in which he kept his neighbours; and that the treaty of partition was eventual and conditional, the *Caſus Fœderis* being an attack of either of the contracting parties by the king of Pruſſia.

[25] Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 362, 413, &c. Univerſal Mag. vol. XIX. p. 211, 242, &c.

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*Auſtria, Ruſſia, France, and a great part of the empire, united againſt Frederick.—He endeavours to force the Saxon troops, encamped at Pirna, to a ſurrender.—Marches into Bohemia, and engages the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Brown, at Lowoſitz.—He prevents the Auſtrians from affording any relief to the Saxons.—The Saxon troops at Pirna endeavour to effectuate an eſcape, but without ſucceſs.—Letter of the king of Poland to count Rutowſki.—The Saxon army ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia, by capitulation.—His Poliſh majeſty quits his electoral dominions, and retires into Poland.—The Pruſſian troops go into winter-quarters.—Application made, on behalf of his Poliſh majeſty, to the primate and ſenators of the republic of Poland, by count Beſtucheff, high chancellor of Ruſſia.—The king of Pruſſia is put under the ban of the empire.*

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THE king of Pruſſia had now united againſt him Auſtria, a conſiderable part of the empire, France, and Ruſſia; and Sweden ſoon after alſo declared againſt him. But notwithſtanding the number and the power of his enemies, Frederick appeared in no reſpect diſpirited, but exhibited, when at the head of his army, the utmoſt chearfulneſs and vivacity. He had an ardent paſſion for military

military fame, and much confidence in his own abilities, and in the diſcipline and valour of his troops. Voltaire, ſpeaking of the war which the king of Pruſſia had now commenced, ſays, 'It 'was worthy of admiration that Lewis XIV. alone 'ſhould be able to reſiſt Germany, England, Italy, 'and Holland, united againſt him; but we have 'ſeen a more extraordinary event, an elector of 'Brandenburgh, by himſelf, withſtand the forces 'of the houſe of Auſtria, of France, of Ruſſia, of 'Sweden, and one half the empire. This is a 'prodigy which we can only attribute to the diſ-'cipline of his troops, and to the ſuperior talents 'of the general. It is true, that chance may gain 'a battle; but when the weak reſiſt the ſtrong, for 'ſeven years, in a country entirely open, and re-'pair the greateſt loſſes, this cannot be the work of 'fortune. It is in this reſpect that this war differs 'from all others, which have deſolated the world[26].'

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WHEN the king of Pruſſia entered Saxony, as he intended alſo to invade Bohemia, he had ordered mareſchal Schwerin, at the head of an army, conſiſting of thirty-three battalions and fifty-five ſquadrons, to enter that province by the way of Nachod and Neuſtadt[27]. In the mean time, the king of Poland continued encamped at Pirna; and Frederick, therefore, did not think it prudent to

[26] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

[27] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the late War in Germany, vol. I. p. 3.

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march himſelf into Bohemia, till he had reduced the Saxon army. The poſt of Pirna was joined on the right to the fortreſs of Sonneſtein, and on the left to that of Konigſtein. The front was inacceſſible, being a craggy rock, in ſome parts covered with vaſt pine-trees, of which the Saxons, for their better ſecurity, had felled great numbers. Behind Sonneſtein and Pirna flowed the Elbe, among rough and inacceſſible rocks. The ſtrength of this ſituation of the Saxon camp, determined the king of Pruſſia to turn the attack into a blockade. He had fixed his own head-quarters at Sedlitz, about half a German league diſtant from Pirna, and poſted his army in ſuch a manner, as to be able to intercept all convoys of proviſion intended for the Saxon camp; though he ſometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with freſh proviſions and game, to paſs unmoleſted for the uſe of his Poliſh majeſty [22]. The Pruſſian forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the van-guard ſeized the paſſes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leitmeritz in that kingdom; whilſt prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took poſt at Leitmeritz without oppoſition. At the ſame time the king covered his own dominions, by aſſembling two conſiderable bodies of troops in Upper and Lower Sileſia, which occupied the paſſes that communicated with the circles of Buntſlau and Koningſgratz.

[22] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 13, 14.

THE

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THE empreſs-queen had not yet aſſembled any conſiderable forces in Bohemia; but on the motions of the Pruſſians, ſhe ordered all her troops that were then in the country to form two camps; the ſmalleſt, commanded by prince Piccolomini, at Koningſgratz, to oppoſe mareſchal Schwerin; and the largeſt, commanded by mareſchal Brown, at Kolin. But before the end of September, the Saxons at Pirna were reduced to a deplorable condition, and in want of almoſt every thing. The empreſs-queen, being informed of their ſituation, ordered mareſchal Brown to march, and to attempt at all events to relieve them. The mareſchal then quitted his camp at Kolin, and arrived, on the 23d of September, at Budin on the Egra. But here he was forced to remain till the 28th, in order to wait for the artillery and pontoons, which were then preparing at Vienna. In the mean time mareſchal Keith, who had acquired great reputation in the Ruſſian ſervice, and who was now entered into that of Pruſſia, had advanced with a large part of the Pruſſian army into Bohemia. He reduced the town of Tetchen, took poſſeſſion of all the paſſes, and encamped near Auſſig, a ſmall town in Bohemia, at no great diſtance from the Auſtrian army under count Brown. But the king of Pruſſia having received information, that the Auſtrian general was preparing to paſs the Egra, with an intention of relieving the Saxons, he left a conſiderable body of troops for the blockade of

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Pirna, and proceeded from the camp at Sedlitz to that near Auſſig, where he took upon himſelf the command of mareſchal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to mareſchal BROWN. Count Algarotti, ſpeaking of this Auſtrian general, who was of Iriſh extraction, gives him the following character: 'He is an officer,' ſays he, 'of great activity, fertile in expedients, wiſe in the planning of 'any enterprize, and prompt in the execution of 'it. If I were to compare him with any of the 'antients, I ſhould place him by the ſide of Veſpaſian or Marcellus. He deſerves the favour he 'enjoys at the court of Vienna, and is worthy the 'honour of being the opponent of the king of 'Pruſſia [19].'

ON the thirtieth of September, Frederick formed his troops into two columns, and about an hour before ſun-ſet arrived with his van at Welmina, a village ſituated in a bottom, ſurrounded by mountains, moſt of which reſemble the form of a ſugar-loaf. From thence he ſaw the Auſtrian army, with its right wing at LOWOSITZ, and its left towards the Egra. The ſame evening the king himſelf occupied, with ſix battalions, a hollow, and ſome riſing grounds, which commanded Lowoſitz, and which he reſolved to make uſe of the following day, in order to march out againſt the Auſtrians. It was late in the evening before all the Pruſſian troops arrived at Welmina, where the king only

[19] Letters military and political, p. 114.

formed

formed his battalions behind one another, and the squadrons in the same manner, and they remained all night under arms. The king himself sat up all night, having no other covering but his cloak, before a little fire, at the head of his troops [30]. On the first of October, at break of day, he took with him his principal general officers, and shewed them the ground which he intended to occupy with his army. The infantry, forming the first line, were to occupy two high hills, and the bottom between them; some battalions were to form the second line; and the third was to be composed of the whole cavalry.

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THE Prussian army amounted only to twenty-five thousand men, and that of the Austrians is said to have been double that number. Mareschal Brown had taken possession of LOWOSITZ, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town. He had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowositz and the village of Sauschitz; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven. The Prussian cavalry then advanced to attack the enemy's horse, but they received such a flank fire from the Austrian irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, that they were obliged to retire to

[30] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 493, from the London Gazette.

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their former poſts. The king was then for placing his cavalry behind in a ſecond line; but, before his orders could be given, they charged a ſecond time, bore down all oppoſition, paſſed through the ſame flank fire as at the firſt charge, and purſued the enemy above three hundred paces. In the exceſs of their ardour, they croſſed a ditch ten feet wide; and three hundred paces beyond this ditch was another, behind which appeared the Auſtrian infantry, in order of battle. Immediately ſixty pieces of cannon played upon the Pruſſian horſe, which therefore repaſſed the ditch, and returned to the infantry at the foot of the hill, without being followed. But about two hundred and fifty of the Pruſſians were taken priſoners; becauſe their horſes being killed after leaping the ditch, they were incapable of rejoining their regiments. Frederick after this would admit of no more ſuch ſallies; and, therefore, ordered the cavalry to poſt itſelf in the rear of the infantry. About this time the fire on the left wing began to increaſe: mareſchal Brown had ſucceſſively brought on twenty battalions, who, paſſing by Lowoſitz, lined the banks of the Elbe, to ſupport the pandours in the vineyards, where the Pruſſian infantry drove them from one wall to another, till ſome of them ſheltered themſelves in the firſt houſes of Lowoſitz. The ſecond line of Pruſſian infantry then mixed with the firſt, and the left ſtretched itſelf to the Elbe; and in this diſpoſition they advanced towards Lowoſitz.

The

The grenadiers fired in through the doors, windows, and roofs of the houſes, and ſet them on fire. In this action, though only the attack of a poſt, every Pruſſian ſoldier of the left wing fired ninety ſhot [31]. The ammunition for their cannon was quite ſpent; notwithſtanding which, the regiment of Itzenblitz and Manteufel entered Lowoſitz with their bayonets fixed, and drove before them nine freſh Auſtrian battalions, which mareſchal Brown had juſt poſted there. The battle was now nearly at an end; for a great part of the Auſtrian troops fled in much diſorder; but the Pruſſian cavalry was prevented from taking advantage of it, by the broad ditch, and by the maſterly diſpoſition of mareſchal Brown, in taking all the left of his infantry, which had not been attacked, to cover his broken troops as they fled [32]. He ordered his center and left to make a movement to the right, by which they occupied the ground, in the inſtant that the right quitted it, behind Lowoſitz. This infantry, ſuſtained by the right wing of the cavalry, covered the retreat ſo effectually, that no attempt was made to interrupt it. Mareſchal Brown now took a new poſition a little farther back; the left and center continued at ſome diſtance, behind marſhy rivulets, and the right formed an angle with the line, having the front towards the plain,

[31] Authentic account of the campaign in Bohemia, publiſhed in the Gentleman's Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 553, 554, 555.

[32] Id. ibid.

behind

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behind Lowoſitz and the Elbe. The Pruſſians, therefore, could not paſs through Lowoſitz and form on the plain, with their rear immediately on the Elbe, and under the fire of a numerous artillery. Matters being thus circumſtanced, the king of Pruſſia was obliged to remain in the ſituation that he was, without proceeding any farther. But while mareſchal Brown continued in this poſition, Frederick had by no means effected his deſign. The action was not deciſive; and, therefore, had not made it impoſſible for count Brown to attempt the relief of the Saxons. He was as much in a condition to undertake it as before the action, the loſs of the Auſtrians having been inferior to that of the Pruſſians. Neither could the Pruſſian monarch have attacked him with any probability of ſucceſs, as he muſt, in paſſing the marſhy rivulets, have expoſed his army to difficulties, which mareſchal Brown had found inſurmountable. From this embarraſſing ſituation Frederick was extricated by his ſuperior talents. He ſent the duke of Bevern, with a large body of horſe and foot, to Tſchiſkovitz, as if he propoſed turning the enemy's left flank, and hemming them in between the Elbe and the Egra. This manœuvre had its deſired effect. Mareſchal Brown, fearing the event, haſtened to repaſs the Egra, and to occupy his old camp at Budin: and this he effected, without any loſs [13].

[13] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, vol. I. p. 10, 11.

THUS

THUS ended the battle of LOWOSITZ, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, and ended at three in the afternoon; though the retreat of count Brown, to his camp at Budin, did not take place till the day following. As the action had not been decisive, both parties claimed the victory. But from the consequences of the battle, though the greatest loss had been sustained by the Prussians, it was manifest that the advantage was on their side. It had been the intention of the Austrian general to disengage the Saxons, and with that view he advanced to Lowositz. The object of the king of Prussia was to prevent the execution of this plan. This end was obtained by the battle of Lowositz, and by the subsequent manœuvres, which forced the Austrians back behind the Egra, and thereby prevented them from undertaking any thing effectual for the relief of the Saxons. Had the Prussian monarch obtained a more compleat victory, he would have been enabled to take up his winter quarters in Bohemia.

THE first account of this battle which reached Berlin, was conveyed by a messenger sent by the king to his mother the queen-dowager, with a note written to her with his own hand, and which contained only the following words: 'October the 'ıst. This morning I gave battle to the Austri-'ans. Great generalship was displayed on both 'sides; and the fate of the day was doubtful for 'some

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'some hours; but at laſt it pleaſed God to give us 'the victory [34].'

THE loſs of the Pruſſians in the battle of LOWOSITZ amounted to 3308, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. Among the killed were major-general Quadt and major-general Luderitz. The body of the latter was torn to pieces by a cannon-ball. Major-general Oertzen alſo received three wounds in the head, of which he died the day following. The loſs of the Auſtrians was 2984 killed, wounded, and priſoners. Count Radicati, lieutenant-general of horſe, was among the killed; and prince Lobkowitz was among thoſe taken priſoners by the Pruſſians [35].

MARESCHAL KEITH, who commanded under the king in this action, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſide of the Pruſſians; as did alſo lieutenant-general KLEIST. The latter was wounded in the battle; but he continued on horſeback, without binding his wounds, till four o'clock. The king conferred upon him afterwards the order of the black eagle; but he died of his wounds, at Dreſden, in the month of January following [36]. Count Algarotti mentions it as an inſtance of the attachment of ſome of the Pruſſian ſoldiers to their king, that, at the cloſe of this battle, a ſoldier, who was mortally wounded, and in the agonies of

[34] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 99.
[35] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 12, 13.
[36] Id. ibid.

death,

death, inquired whether the king was ſafe, and how the day went? He was informed that the king was well, and that he had won the battle. "Now "then," replied the ſoldier, "it is a pleaſure to "die [37]." CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

AMONG other Pruſſian officers, who were wounded in the battle of Lowoſitz, one was baron ROCHOW, who deſerves to be particularly mentioned, on account of his uncommonly amiable and excellent character. In conſequence of the wounds which he received in this action, he afterwards retired from the ſervice, and led a philoſophical life at his country ſeat at Rechan, near Brandenburgh. Here he employed himſelf in labouring to improve the morals, and promote the happineſs, of his tenants and dependants, and the poor in general in his neighbourhood. He employed ſchool-maſters, to whom he gave larger ſalaries than uſual, to inſtruct youth in ſuch branches of knowledge as would be moſt uſeful to them, and to inſtil into them the principles of piety and virtue. He endeavoured to introduce a rational mode of education, and eſtabliſhed country ſchools at his own expence, on his eſtates at Rechan and Gettin [38]. By theſe, and other benevolent exertions, after he quitted the ſervice, he rendered himſelf much more beneficial to mankind, than he could have been by a continuance in the Pruſſian

[37] Letters military and political, p. 114.

[38] Monthly Review, vol. LV. p. 556, 557.

armies;

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armies; where he would probably have been employed, not in promoting the happineſs, but in increaſing the calamities of his fellow creatures.

MARESCHAL Brown, having failed in his attempt to relieve the Saxons on the left ſide of the Elbe, reſolved to try his fortune on the right. He communicated his ſituation and deſign to count Rutowſki, who was a natural brother of the king of Poland, and who commanded the Saxon troops at Pirna; and it was agreed, that the Saxons ſhould paſs the Elbe on the eleventh of October in the night, near Konigſtein; and that mareſchal Brown ſhould attack the Pruſſians at Ratmanſdorff and Borſdorff, on the twelfth in the morning, while the Saxons did the ſame on their ſide. Accordingly he paſſed the Elbe near Raudnitz, at the head of about eight thouſand men, and marched by Neuſtadtel, Romburg, and Hanſpach, and arrived at Lichtenhayn, a ſteep rock, near which he encamped, waiting till he heard the Pruſſians and Saxons engaged, which he ſuppoſed muſt happen at the inſtant that the Saxons paſſed the Elbe; and it was then that he was to enter into action, and to execute his part of the concerted plan [39].

THE poſt of Pirna, where the Saxons were encamped, had this defect, that it was as difficult to come out of it as to force it. But, on the twelfth of the month, the Saxons threw a bridge of boats

[39] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 13, 14.

over

over the Elbe, near Konigſtein, to which caſtle they removed all their artillery. Then, ſtriking their tents in the night, they paſſed the river unmoleſted by the Pruſſians. They continued to retreat with all poſſible expedition; but the weather was uncommonly rainy and tempeſtuous, and the roads ſo bad, that they made little progreſs. Next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a ſteep hill oppoſite to Konigſtein, and the reſt were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they diſcovered that the Pruſſians were in poſſeſſion of all the paſſes. In the mean time, mareſchal Brown having waited two days for the Saxons, and found that they could not join him, thought it neceſſary to provide for his own ſafety, and accordingly returned to his camp at Budin. CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756.

THE Saxons were now ſurrounded on every ſide, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and deſtitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortreſs of Konigſtein, ſent the following letter to his general, count Rutowſki:

'Mareſchal Count Rutowſki,

'It is not without extreme ſorrow that I under-'ſtand the deplorable ſituation, which a chain of 'misfortunes has reſerved for you, the reſt of my 'generals, and my whole army: but we muſt 'acquieſce in the diſpenſations of Providence, and 'conſole ourſelves with the rectitude of our ſenti-

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'ments and intentions. They would force me, it 'ſeems, as you give me to underſtand by major-'general the baron de Dyherrn, to ſubmit to con-'ditions the more ſevere, in proportion as the cir-'cumſtances are become more neceſſitous. I can-'not hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; 'ſuch I will live; ſuch I will die; and I will both 'live and die with honour. The fate of my army 'I leave wholly to your diſcretion. Let your coun-'cil of war determine whether you muſt ſurrender 'priſoners of war, fall by the ſword, or die by 'famine. May your reſolutions, if poſſible, be 'conducted by humanity. Whatever they may 'be, I have no longer any ſhare in them; and I 'declare, that you ſhall not be anſwerable for 'aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms 'againſt me, or my allies. I pray that God may 'have you, M. Mareſchal, in his holy keeping. 'Given at Konigſtein, the 14th of October, 1756.

'AUGUSTUS, REX [46].'

ON the ſame morning in which the king of Poland's letter was dated, the king of Pruſſia arrived at his camp in Saxony, and a negociation took place between him and count Rutowſki, in conſequence of which the Saxon army ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month. Some of the anſwers made by the Pruſſian monarch to the articles of capitulation, propoſed by the Saxon general, were arrogant and inſulting. The

[46] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 16, 17.

firſt

first article was, that 'the army of the king of 'Poland, elector of Saxony, which had been late-'ly encamped at Pirna, ſhould ſurrender to the 'king of Pruſſia priſoners of war;' to which Frede-rick's anſwer was, 'If the king will give me that 'army, it is needleſs to make them priſoners of 'war.' The fourth article was, 'The generals, 'commandants, and all perſons ranking as officers, 'engage themſelves in writing, not to bear arms 'againſt his majeſty the king of Pruſſia till peace be 'reſtored; and they ſhall be left at liberty to ſtay 'in Saxony, or to retire whitherſoever they think 'proper.' To this Frederick replied, 'Thoſe that 'intend to enter into my ſervice muſt, from this 'very moment, have liberty to do ſo.' The fifth article was, "The life-guards, and the grenadier-'guards, ſhall not be included in the firſt article; 'and his Pruſſian majeſty will be pleaſed to ap-'point the place in the electorate of Saxony, or in 'the territories depending thereon, where the ſaid 'two corps ſhall be diſtributed. The field-mareſ-'chal count Rutowſki, as captain of the grenadier-'guards, the chevalier de Saxe, in quality of com-'mandant of the life-guards, and all the other 'officers of thoſe two corps, verbally engage, and 'even in writing, if deſired, not to make, under 'any pretence whatever, nor without the approba-'tion of the king of Pruſſia, any change in the 'quarters that may be aſſigned them.' Frederick's anſwer was, 'There is no exception to be made,

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'because it is known, that the king of Poland did 'give orders for that part of his troops, which is 'in the said kingdom, to join the Russians, and to 'march, for this purpose, to the frontiers of 'Silesia; and a man must be a fool to let troops 'go which he holds fast; to see them make head 'against him a second time, and to be obliged to 'take them prisoners again.' The eighth article was, 'His Prussian majesty shall give assurances, 'that no officer, or soldier, shall be obliged, 'against his will, to enter into his army; and that, 'after peace is restored, they shall all be sent back 'to the king of Poland: and, on the other hand, 'his Polish majesty may not refuse dismission to 'the generals, and other officers of his army, who 'may engage in any other service.' To this the king of Prussia's reply was, 'Nobody need trouble 'his head about this. No general shall be forced 'to serve against his will: that is sufficient[42].' Before the other articles of capitulation were signed, count Rutowski declared, by a separate article, that he was authorized to oblige the Saxon army to lay down their arms, but that he had no authority to free them from the oath of allegiance which they had taken, or to oblige them to take another[43]. The king of Prussia, however, without the least hesitation, incorporated the Saxon troops, by compulsion, into his own army[44].

[42] Entick's Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 102——105.
[43] Ibid. p. 106.
[44] Smollett, ut supra, p. 17.

COUNT

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Count Algarotti says, that after the king of Prussia's 'successes at Lowositz and Pirna, his 'principal care was, partly by incorporating the 'prisoners with his own soldiers, and partly by 'raising others in all parts of Saxony, and of the 'empire, to increase their number beyond what 'was ever known, since men have warred against 'each other; that is to say, since the beginning of 'the world.' In another place, speaking of the Prussian troops about this time, the same writer says, that they 'amounted to two hundred and 'twelve thousand men: a greater army than ever 'the Romans had, even in the times of Trajan or 'Augustus [44].'

His Polish majesty being now completely deprived of his electoral dominions, and of his army, and not allowed even to keep his guards, thought it high time to retire into Poland, and accordingly, with Frederick's permission, set out for that kingdom; and Voltaire remarks, that the king of Prussia 'had the insulting politeness to furnish him 'with post-horses for his journey [45].' After this event, Frederick cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Sedlitz, and along the Elbe, towards Dresden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia under the command of mareschal Schwerin, fell back into Silesia, and was distributed into win-

[44] Letters military and political, p. 111, 112.
[45] Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

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ter quarters of cantonment, on the frontiers of Bohemia, from Zuckmantel to Greiffenberg.

AFTER his Poliſh majeſty had quitted his electoral dominions, count Beſtucheff, high-chancellor of Ruſſia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, ſenators, and miniſters of the republic of Poland, on behalf of his Poliſh majeſty, in which are the following paſſages: 'You are undoubtedly already informed of all the particulars of the king of Pruſſia's hoſtile and ſudden invaſion of Saxony; of the unheard of violences, and horrible exceſſes he has committed there; as well upon the poor inhabitants, as againſt the very perſon of the king of Poland, your maſter, and the royal family; of the extreme neceſſity to which his majeſty has found himſelf reduced, to retire into Poland, by ſacrificing his hereditary dominions, and all his army; and of the king of Pruſſia's irruption into Bohemia. The king of Poland's deplorable fate, for which this prince did not give the leaſt handle, certainly deſerves compaſſion ſuitable to the immortal glory he has purchaſed by the noble conſtancy, which he has diſplayed in ſo melancholy a ſituation; and, at the ſame time, it ought to excite all powers, and eſpecially his allies, to concern themſelves in earneſt in an event of this nature. The diſmal conſequences that may reſult from this the king of Pruſſia's unprecedented and raſh ſtep, as well for the common repoſe of Europe, as for every power in particular, and

'eſpecially

'especially for the neighbouring countries, are so 'obvious, that the intereſt and ſafety of each ſove- 'reign abſolutely require them to be upon their 'guard; and, by making it a common cauſe with 'the powers involved in the ſame embarraſſment, 'to take the propereſt meaſures, not only for pro- 'curing the courts, ſo unjuſtly attacked, the ſatiſ- 'faction that is due to them, but alſo for preſcrib- 'ing to the too extenſive power of the king of 'Pruſſia ſuch bounds, as may hereafter be a 'ſecurity againſt the inſults of that enterprizing and 'turbulent neighbour, who, in defiance to the moſt 'ſolemn and moſt ſacred treaties, is intent upon 'nothing but aggrandizing his dominions. The 'empreſs, my gracious ſovereign, conſidering the 'importance of ſo ſad an event, and the ill conſe- 'quences that may ariſe from it, and having at 'heart the well being and the intereſts of her allies, 'and eſpecially of his majeſty the king of Poland, 'is deeply affected with the misfortunes of this 'prince, who, on his part, has not given the leaſt 'occaſion thereto; and not being able to behold 'with indifference the equally dire and raſh enter- 'prizes of the king of Pruſſia, ſhe has taken the 'generous reſolution to ſuccour, ſpeedily and effica- 'ciouſly, the king your maſter, by ſending a con- 'ſiderable body of troops to his aſſiſtance. This 'corps has actually begun its march, under the 'command of his excellency field-mareſchal 'Apraxin; and an indiſpenſable neceſſity will

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'oblige it to traverse part of the territory of Poland. All impartial judges will surely abhor the king of Prussia's cruel procedure towards the territories of Saxony, and towards the person of the king of Poland himself, and will do justice to her imperial majesty's generous sentiments, as also to the resolution she has taken, which tends only to defend her allies, and restore peace in Europe, by settling it again in a just equilibrium.'—'I flatter myself, that you and your countrymen will not fail, by facilitating, in the best manner that can be done, the march of the said body of her imperial majesty's troops, through the territory of Poland, to render thereby a real service to the king your master, in his present melancholy situation, (a situation that excites compassion from every one who loves honour, justice, and his country,) and to take the most salutary measures for defeating the king of Prussia's vast and pernicious projects in Poland [46].' This letter was dated the twelfth of November, 1756.

THE Saxon soldiers, as might naturally be expected, being extremely averse to enter into the service of the king of Prussia, many of those who had been forcibly incorporated into the Prussian army, embraced the first opportunity of deserting [F]. Frederick thereupon immediately ordered

[46] Literary Magazine, vol. I. p. 486, 487.

[F] Of the desertion of some of the Saxon troops, we have the following account: 'The Saxon troops, that were compelled 'to

ed the Saxon magiſtrates to raiſe four thouſand freſh recruits, to be ready with the utmoſt expedition for his ſervice. As he had driven the king of Poland from his electoral dominions, and was, by his conduct, the greateſt enemy which that prince had in the world, compelling the Saxons to enter into the Pruſſian ſervice, was in fact forcing them to fight

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'to enliſt, by no means ſeem to reliſh the rigour of the Pruſſian 'ſervice. A detachment of the regiment of light horſe, to the 'number of an hundred and fifty, have deſerted in a body; 'and the ſame has happened in a regiment of infantry. Theſe 'were purſued by a detachment of Pruſſians, overtaken, and 'fifty of them killed. The remainder owed their eſcape to the 'deſperate defence they made; telling the Pruſſians, that they 'would neither give nor receive any quarter. In conſequence 'of theſe deſertions, his Pruſſian majeſty has cauſed all the 'Saxon regiments to be broken, and the ſoldiers to be incorpo-'rated with his own troops.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 182.

The king of Pruſſia alſo denounced heavy penalties againſt thoſe who harboured Saxons who had deſerted from the Pruſſian ſervice; and of his behaviour relative to five Saxon deſerters, who had taken refuge in a convent in the dioceſe of Breſlaw, the following account was publiſhed at the time: 'DRESDEN, 'Dec. 29, 1756. Notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions 'iſſued out on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty againſt harbouring 'or aſſiſting Saxon deſerters, five of them lately took ſanctuary 'in a convent in the dioceſe of Breſlaw; and being demanded 'by the king's officers, the prior of the convent had the hardi-'neſs to refuſe to give them up; for which his majeſty con-'demned him to be hanged; but thought proper to change his 'ſentence to a fine, of which his majeſty acquainted the biſhop, 'as a mark of his reſpect to the pope and all the Catholic party.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 69.

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against their own ſovereign: and tyranny more atrocious is not, perhaps, eaſily conceivable, than that of compelling men to enter as ſoldiers into an army, in which they were to fight againſt their own prince, and their own country. But this was a ſpecies of tyranny, which the king of Pruſſia appeared to practiſe without the leaſt ſcruple [o]. In his

[o] Baron Bielfeld, who had quitted the Pruſſian court, and now reſided at Treben, near Altenburgh, in Saxony, informs us, in one of his letters, that ſome time after this five of his tenants, Saxon peaſants, were ſeized as recruits for the Pruſſian army. They were afterwards diſcharged, as a perſonal compliment to Bielfeld, who had made application to one of the Pruſſian generals for their releaſe. Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. II. p. 189, 190.

Some of the publications of the times contain accounts of great hardſhips impoſed on the Saxons, with reſpect to raiſing recruits for the Pruſſian army. Among theſe accounts are the following:

'DRESDEN, Jan. 14, 1757. This day the king of Pruſſia returned from Berlin with prince Henry. Laſt week all the youth of this city, who were not employed in arts and labours abſolutely neceſſary, were taken as recruits for the Pruſſian army.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 105.

'DRESDEN, Jan. 2. The king of Pruſſia, in conſideration of the payment of 100,000 crowns, made him by the town of Leipſic, has excuſed it a quarter of the contribution demanded; but, at the ſame time, has ordered the magiſtrates of the place to raiſe five hundred men towards completing the Saxon regiments in the Pruſſian ſervice. The affair of raiſing recruits is extremely burthenſome, and few of the diſtricts have been able to furniſh half the number demanded of them, though they have enliſted all they could find within the age required.

To

his "Military Inſtructions" for his generals is the following paſſage: 'If the army is quartered in an 'enemy's country, the commander in chief is to 'take care, that he is ſupplied with the neceſſary 'number of recruits. He will divide the province 'into a certain number of circles, allotting ſo many 'regiments to each, in proportion to the number 'of people, in the ſame manner as we enroll our 'recruits in our own dominions. If the ſtates of 'the country are willing to furniſh recruits, ſo 'much the better; but, if they refuſe, you muſt 'have recourſe to violence. You muſt inſiſt on 'their being delivered early in the winter, that you 'may have time to make ſoldiers of them before 'the ſpring. But this need not hinder the captains 'from ſending out recruiting parties[47].'

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'To complete our misfortunes, ſome of the men that had been 'accepted, have ſince been rejected, and it is abſolutely im- 'poſſible to ſupply their places; though we are threatened with 'military execution, if we do not.' Ibid. p. 57.

'LEIPSIC, Jan. 19. The military executions to which the 'towns are ſubjected, for not furniſhing the number of recruits 'that was demanded, are made with the utmoſt rigour. The 'men employed in the mines in this country have been taken to 'recruit the companies of Pruſſian miners.' Ibid. p. 120.

'DRESDEN, April 4. The king of Pruſſia has demanded a 'third delivery of recruits, to the amount of two thouſand five 'hundred men, in order to augment with twenty each company 'of the regiments heretofore in the Saxon ſervice.' Ibid. p. 385.

[47] *Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, for the Generals of his Army*, p. 166.

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RECRUITS for the Prussian army continued to be raised, with great rigour, throughout the territories of Saxony; and the king of Prussia also endeavoured, but ineffectually, to prevail on the Saxon officers, who had been encamped at Pirna, to enter into his service [H]. Heavy pecuniary contributions were also levied upon the inhabitants of Saxony [I]. But, in other respects, his troops observed

[H] Of the behaviour of some of these Saxon officers, and their answers to the proposals of the king of Prussia, the following account is given: 'The king of Prussia having again proposed to the Saxon officers, that are out of employment, to resume their posts in the regiments wherein they formerly served, and to prefer this course to idleness and poverty; they have unanimously declared, that they could not break the oath they had taken to their sovereign; and, moreover, that they could never feel themselves animated with that spirit, in his Prussian majesty's service, which is requisite to support the character of every officer, in the honourable profession of arms; that they were fully sensible of their indigence; but as it was the effect of their duty, they bore it with patience and resignation. These poor officers owe their subsistence chiefly to the sayings made by the queen of Poland, in the expences of her table and household.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 134.

[I] Of some of these exactions, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the times:

'LEIPSIC, Dec. 23, 1756. The deputies sent to Dresden to remonstrate to the king of Prussia against the payment of 500,000 crowns, exacted from this city, could not obtain an audience of the Prussian commissaries. They were told, that they must bring at least a part of the money, before they could obtain any mitigation. Accordingly, 100,000 crowns were sent to Dresden on the 13th in three carts, and our deputies have

observed a very exact discipline; and in matters which were of little consequence to his main designs, when personal applications were made to him, he would sometimes attend to, and redress, the complaints of the inhabitants. As an instance of this, the following incident is related. Ten of his life-guards being billetted upon a burgher of Dresden, were placed by him in the third story of his house; but this they resented, telling him, that at Potsdam they were always lodged in the first story; and they threatened to turn the burgher out of his own apartment, and to take possession of it for themselves. The burgher immediately presented a state of the case in writing to the king, who in five minutes returned it with this answer, written with his own hand: "Potsdam is not Dresden;

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' have since received hopes, that the remaining 400,000 crowns ' will be remitted.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 16.

' LEIPSIC, Jan. 19, 1757. The king of Prussia has ordered ' the Jews of Dresden to pay him a contribution of thirty thou- ' sand crowns, or leave the country.' Ibid. p. 120.

' DRESDEN, March 9. We are extremely embarrassed here ' by the orders given to our magistrates to provide a further sum ' of 900,000 crowns for the Prussian military chest; the whole ' to be furnished between the first of April and first of May.' Ibid. p. 301, 302.

' DRESDEN, June 8. The nobility and gentry of this country ' have in vain applied to the king of Prussia, to obtain some ' abatement of the sum of 600,000 crowns, which he exacts as ' an indemnification of part of his expenses, in guarantying ' THEIR COUNTRY against an invasion by the Austrians.' Ibid. p. 599.

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"Dreſden is not Potſdam. My troops muſt be "ſatisfied with the third ſtory, where better ac- "commodations are not to be had[48]."

BESIDES the declarations againſt the king of Pruſſia, which were publiſhed by different European powers, decrees were alſo iſſued againſt him by the Aulic council of the empire. As elector of Brandenburgh, he was put under the ban of the empire; he was declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were eſcheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles were ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies of men and money for putting this ſentence in execution[49].

IN the mean time, Frederick made great preparations for the enſuing campaign; and adopted every ſtep which he thought neceſſary for ſecuring to him the poſſeſſion of Saxony. The burghers of Dreſden were diſarmed, their arms depoſited in the arſenal, and a detachment was poſted at Konigſtein, to oblige that fortreſs to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. All correſpondence with the enemy was ſtrictly prohibited [K]; and it having been diſcovered

[48] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 86.

[49] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 118.

[K] It ſeems from the following account, which was publiſhed at that time, as if a ſtop was put even to the private correſpondence of the queen of Poland with her huſband at Warſaw. "DRESDEN, Dec. 22, 1756. On the firſt inſtant, a courier "from Warſaw was ſtopt at the gate of this city, by order of the

"Pruſſian

discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the maids of honour to the queen of Poland, had disobeyed the king of Prussia's commands, she was arrested; but was afterwards released, on the queen's intercession. The countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime-minister, was also arrested by Frederick's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Herwin, the French minister, was likewise acquainted, that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden. He answered, that his master had commanded him to stay; but he was again desired to depart, and then thought proper to com-

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'Prussian governor, though he had a pass from the Prussian envoy at Warsaw. Two packets were taken from him, one 'directed to the queen, the other containing letters to different 'private persons. The former was kept, but the latter was returned after being strictly examined. Next day the queen sent 'general Horst to the Prussian governor, to express her astonish-'ment at the sudden interruption of a correspondence, which 'she had been promised should be left free. The governor said, 'that he had obeyed his master's orders, who would no longer 'suffer any correspondence between Warsaw and Dresden by 'expresses, but only by the common post.' London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 16.

It appears also, from the following account, that the queen of Poland was not even permitted to have an intercourse with the inhabitants of Dresden. 'DRESDEN, April 20, 1757. 'By order of the king of Prussia, no person whatever is to have 'admittance at the castle, where her Polish majesty and the royal 'family reside, except their household servants. Even foreign 'ministers are included in this inhibition.' Ibid. p. 425.

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CHAP. XIX. A. D. 1756

ply. About the same time the count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of the Prussian monarch. Besides pecuniary contributions, and furnishing recruits, a variety of other hardships were likewise imposed by Frederick on the Saxons. When two bridges were thrown over the Elbe by his directions, he ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipsic were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion [50].

[50] Smollett, ut supra, p. 119, 120.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XX.

*Numerous Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and French armies, aſſembled to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, at the opening of the campaign of 1757.—His military preparations.—He enters Bohemia at the head of a large army.—Battle of Prague.—Death of mareſchal Schwerin.—The king lays ſiege to the city of Prague.*

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

AT the beginning of the year 1757, the king of Pruſſia went for a ſhort time to Berlin, and afterwards returned again to Dreſden, accompanied by his brother, prince Henry. During the winter, Frederick had exerted himſelf, with the moſt unremitting aſſiduity, in making ſuch preparations, as would enable him to open the enſuing campaign with vigour; and the army which he had aſſembled amounted to more than two hundred thouſand men. But the armies, which were collected by the great powers that were united againſt him, were computed to be more than three times that number. The army of the empreſs-queen had been augmented to one hundred and eighty thouſand men; but ſhe reſolved to act only on the defenſive, until her allies could take the field. She then flattered herſelf, that the Pruſſian monarch would be obliged to divide his forces into

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CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

ſo many bodies, that he would be unable, any where, to make a vigorous reſiſtance [51].

THE Ruſſian army, under mareſchal Apraxin, which amounted to more than eighty thouſand men, had proceeded towards the borders of Lithuania, with a deſign to invade Ducal Pruſſia, whilſt a ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aſſiſt the operations of this army. The Ruſſians knew, that the country which they were to paſs through, in their way to Lithuania, would be unable to afford proviſions for their ſubſiſtence; and they had, therefore, taken care to furniſh themſelves with proviſions for their march thither; but they afterwards depended upon the reſources which they expected to find in Lithuania, upon their arrival in that country. When they reached the borders of that province, and their proviſions were nearly exhauſted, they found themſelves ſuddenly and unexpectedly unable to procure ſupplies, either to return back, or to proceed forward. For the king of Pruſſia, with great foreſight and ſagacity, had ſecured plenty to himſelf, and diſtreſs and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country, into which the Ruſſians were entering: and by this dextrous management he effectually retarded, for a conſiderable time, the progreſs of the Ruſſian army [52].

[51] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 263.

[52] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 118, 119.

THE

THE king of France, in order to convince the empress-queen that she had acted wisely, in connecting herself with the house of Bourbon, formed two great armies. The first consisted of nearly eighty thousand men, the flower of the French troops, attended with a vast train of artillery, and was commanded by mareschal d'Etrees, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army passed the Rhine, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire. But a principal part of their design was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force, from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where some of their most important interests were at stake. The other army of the French, which was commanded by the prince de Soubise, consisted of twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers [53]. This army was intended to strengthen the army of the empire, which was raised to put into execution the imperial sentence against the king of Prussia. The circles of the

CHAP. XIII. A. D. 1759.

[53] Smollett, ut supra, p. 116, 117. Annual Register, vol. I. p. 14, 15. Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 260, 261.

CHAP. XII. A. D. 1757. empire had been ordered to furnish their contingents of men and money to put this sentence in execution; but the contingents were collected slowly, and the troops were badly composed; so that the army of execution would probably not have been soon able to act, had it not been for the assistance afforded under the prince de Soubise.

In conformity to the defensive system, which had been adopted by the court of Vienna, till they supposed their allies would be enabled to take the field, the Austrian army was distributed by mareschal Brown into four different corps. The first, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, was posted at Egra; the second, under the mareschal himself, at Budin; the third, under count Konigseg, at Reichenberg; and the fourth, under count Serbelloni, in Moravia [34]. By this disposition mareschal Brown, who commanded in chief, imagined that he should be able to stop the progress of the king of Prussia, if he should attempt to march into the kingdom of Bohemia.

It was always the maxim of Frederick, to remove the war as much as possible from his own dominions, and to carry it on in the territories of his enemies. Accordingly, notwithstanding the different armies which were assembled against him, he resolved to enter into Bohemia, as speedily as the season would admit. But he previously visited

[34] Major-general Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 29.

all

all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security. At Neiss, he settled with mareschal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the ensuing campaign; and it was there agreed, that the mareschal's army in Silesia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require[55]. CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

In the month of April, the king of Prussia caused his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia, to enter Bohemia by four different and opposite routes, and nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by mareschal Keith; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick Bevern; and the fourth by mareschal Schwerin. Mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of the approach of the Prussians till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The prince of An-

[55] Smollett, ut supra, p. 119.

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

halt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April, without meeting with any opposition. The prince of Bevern, who entered with the corps under his command from Lusatia, defeated, on the same day, a body of twenty-eight thousand Austrians who opposed him. Frederick himself prepared to enter Bohemia at a great distance from the corps commanded by these generals; and as he seemed disposed to march towards Egra, the enemy imagined, that he intended to execute some design distinct from the object of his other armies. With this idea they detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions. The king of Prussia, finding that this feint had all the effect that he intended, made a sudden and masterly movement to his left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians. He then pushed on with the utmost rapidity towards Prague, near which city the Austrian army was now encamped, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, and mareschal Brown.

THE Austrian army, which had been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the prince of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted nearly to one hundred thousand men. They were strongly entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of PRAGUE, in a camp so fortified

fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almoſt impregnable. The left wing of the Auſtrians, thus ſituated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziſca, and the right extended as far as Herboholi [16].

THE king of Pruſſia having reſolved to attack the Auſtrian army, notwithſtanding its numbers, and the advantage of its ſituation, paſſed the Moldaw, at Seltz, on the fifth of May, at eight o'clock in the morning. He was joined by the corps under mareſchal Schwerin, and his other troops, at four o'clock in the following morning, in conſequence of meaſures which had been concerted with that general [L]. The king and M. Schwerin had both

[16] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 128.

[L] In an account of the battle of PRAGUE, written by count Schwerin, adjutant-general to mareſchal Schwerin, are the following particulars relative to the junction of the troops under the king, and thoſe under the mareſchal, and to the commencement of the action: 'At two o'clock in the afternoon 'his majeſty ſent Stutterheim, one of his adjutants, to the 'mareſchal, with orders, that we, and the column commanded 'by general Winterfeldt, ſhould break up at twelve o'clock that 'night, and compaſs our march, ſo that the head of our columns 'ſhould arrive, exactly at four in the morning, upon the heights 'of Broſiz, where his majeſty promiſed to be, on the right, by 'Tſchimniz. Theſe orders were executed with ſuch preciſion, 'that our three columns arrived, at the place of rendezvous, at 'four o'clock; and, at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as to 'leave only the ſpace neceſſary to form the line. We did not 'meet with any obſtacle, on our march, till we came to the 'heights before Broſiz; where Modena's regiment of horſe,

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

both marched with extraordinary rapidity, in order to effectuate this junction. The mareſchal had been

'two of dragoons, and Feſtetitz's huſſars, were poſted that 'night. Theſe fired upon our vanguard, and retired immediately, through Broſiz, to the left wing of their army. As 'ſoon as the king had wiſhed the mareſchal and general Winterfeldt a good morning, he rode, with theſe two generals, without any other eſcort than two of his adjutants, captain Platen, 'lieutenant-colonel Oelſnitz, and myſelf, to one of the higheſt 'hills on the other ſide of Broſiz. From hence we could diſcover all the enemy's camp very plain; the firſt and ſecond 'line from one end to the other. His majeſty reconnoitered it 'with his ſpying-glaſs. When the enemy perceived ſeven or 'eight perſons on the hill, he ſent us ſome four pounders, but 'without effect. His majeſty continued about an hour here, to 'examine their poſition, and how they were to be attacked. 'The enemy was poſted, with the left wing towards Ptague, on 'the Ziſkaberg, behind the invalids: the right extended about '2000 paces beyond the village of Conradiz, near Sterboholi. 'Two hundred paces before their front, the mountains were ſo 'ſteep and craggy, that no cavalry or artillery could poſſibly 'aſcend them. At the foot of theſe mountains is a deep valley, 'which was entirely occupied by ſome huſſars and Hungarian 'infantry. The mountains on our ſide of the valley were no 'leſs ſteep and craggy than the others. Notwithſtanding theſe 'difficulties, his majeſty was inclined to attack the enemy in 'front. The mareſchal, on the contrary, repreſented to him 'the difficulty of the ground; the great march the troops had 'made; and the ſtrength of the enemy's poſition; who had 'covered the heights before their front with a prodigious quan'tity of heavy artillery. His majeſty, convinced by theſe rea'ſons, permitted the mareſchal to go and ſeek out ſome more 'convenient place to form the attack. Upon which his excel'lency rode, full gallop, before the enemy's right, where the

'ground

been before joined by the prince of Bevern. But when the junction was effected between the different Pruſſian corps, their army is ſaid to have been much inferior in point of numbers to that of the Auſtrians. The Pruſſian monarch intended to have attacked the Auſtrian army in the front; but, by the perſuaſion of mareſchal Schwerin, he changed his deſign, and permitted that able general to make the attack on their right. CHAP. X. A. D. 1757.

THE action commenced about eleven o'clock; when the Pruſſian cavalry having paſſed the dams, the Auſtrian generals perceived that the king's intention was to attack their right flank. They, therefore, immediately ordered all their cavalry thither from the left. It came with great celerity, and was formed with that on the right in one hundred and four ſquadrons, in three lines, with intervals equal to the front of a ſquadron. This movement was made with ſo much promptitude,

'ground on both ſides falls gradually, and where he perceived a 'plain, before the enemy's right wing, near the village of 'Mieſz, where the infantry could paſs over the meadows, and 'the cavalry and heavy artillery over the dams. As ſoon as 'the mareſchal had reconnoitred the ground, and given an 'account of it to the king, orders were immediately given to 'the three corps to move on the left. This was executed with 'ſuch celerity, that the army, which had received the orders 'about nine o'clock, marched above four miles through very 'bad roads, and at half an hour paſt ten was formed; and at 'eleven the battle began on the left wing.' Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, vol. I. p. 44, 45.

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

that the prince of Schonaich, the Pruſſian lieutenant-general of horſe, who had only ſixty-five ſquadrons, and was apprehenſive of being outflanked, judged it neceſſary to attack the enemy inſtantly, without waiting for the cavalry of the right wing, which the king had ordered to reinforce him. The attack was accordingly made with great vigour; but the Pruſſian cavalry being outflanked by eight ſquadrons, was twice repulſed, in ſpite of its moſt ſtrenuous efforts. In the third attack, however, the Auſtrian cavalry was entirely broken, by the bravery of twenty ſquadrons of huſſars, led on by general Ziethen, and puſhed with ſuch violence upon the grenadiers, as to throw them into confuſion [57].

DURING this ſhock of the cavalry, the Pruſſian infantry of the left wing, under mareſchal SCHWERIN, advanced to a marſhy ground, by which they were ſuddenly ſtopped, and which threatened to diſconcert the whole plan of operations. In this emergency, the mareſchal immediately took the colours of the regiment into his own hand, and boldly entered the morafs, crying out, "Let all "brave Pruſſians follow me." Animated by the example of their great and venerable commander, who is ſaid to have been now eighty-two years of age [M], all the troops preſſed forward, and their ardour

[57] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 267, 268.

[M] This is the account generally given of mareſchal Schwerin's age at the time of his death; but general Lloyd ſays, that

ardour did not abate, till they had totally defeated the Auſtrians. But, unfortunately, mareſchal SCHWERIN had not advanced far towards the enemy, before he received ſeveral bullets; one in the ear, another in the heart, and three in other parts of the body [58]. He fell inſtantly from his horſe, without the leaſt ſigns of life; and general Manteufel took the colours out of his hand, and gave them to the enſign. But that officer had ſcarcely received them, when a cannon ball came, and killed him on the ſpot [59]. Soon after the death of mareſchal Schwerin, prince Henry, the king's brother, diſmounted from his horſe, and, heading his brigade, was the firſt that climbed a mountain, and took poſſeſſion of a battery, by which the Pruſſian troops had been greatly annoyed [60].

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

THE king of Pruſſia expoſed himſelf to the fire of the enemy with the utmoſt intrepidity, and greatly contributed, by his own conduct, to the defeat of the Auſtrians. At a time when the

that he was born on the 26th of October, 1684; and if this date be right, the mareſchal, when he was killed, was only in his ſeventy-third year. This, however, was a great age, to exhibit ſo much activity, ardour, and preſence of mind, as were manifeſted by mareſchal Schwerin on this memorable occaſion.

[58] Account of the action written by count Schwerin, publiſhed in Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, p. 46.

[59] Id. ibid.

[60] Account of the battle of Prague, written by a Pruſſian officer to his friend in Holland, and publiſhed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 279.

Auſtrian

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

Auſtrian right wing had obtained a conſiderable advantage over the Pruſſians, and, in the ardour of purſuit, had advanced ſo far as to leave an opening between the Auſtrian right and left wing, Frederick inſtantly availed himſelf of the favourable opportunity to occupy the vacant place. By this manœuvre he ſeparated the two wings of the enemy from each other; and, at the ſame time, by an additional ſtroke of generalſhip, he ordered a body of troops to poſſeſs the ground on which his own left wing had ſtood: ſo that when the Auſtrian right wing was forced back by the Pruſſians, it found itſelf ſurrounded, and retreated in confuſion towards Maleſchitz and Biſchowitz; while the left wing, which was furiouſly attacked by the Pruſſian infantry, under prince Henry, with fixed bayonets, was obliged to take refuge in Prague. The center of the Auſtrians was alſo broken, after an obſtinate conteſt, and driven into the ſame city, and this completed the victory of the Pruſſians.

THE attack of the Auſtrian army by the king of Pruſſia was extremely unexpected [N]; but the Auſtrians

[N] In an account of this battle, written by a Pruſſian officer to his friend in Holland, is the following paſſage: 'The 'Auſtrian generals had no apprehenſions of an attack on the 'ſixth of May. Their cavalry were, on that day, out a forag-'ing. Their whole camp was quiet, and the ſoldiers boiled the 'pot. They had not the leaſt doubt, but that, on the fifth, 'mareſchal Schwerin's army was many miles off. But this 'army made forced marches on that day, as they had done the 'day

Auſtrians were ſtrongly poſted, and it was a very long and obſtinate engagement. It continued for ſeven hours; and the numbers that were killed and wounded on both ſides amounted to more than twenty thouſand men. Upwards of four thouſand priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians, together with ten ſtandards, two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, and all the tents and baggage of the Auſtrians, with their military cheſt. The Pruſſians had three thouſand killed, and double that number wounded; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, is ſuppoſed to have been about twelve thouſand. Among thoſe who were killed on the ſide of the Pruſſians, beſides mareſchal Schwerin, were the prince of Holſtein Beck and general D'Amſtel; and, on the ſide of the Auſtrians, mareſchal Brown received a wound, of which he afterwards died at Prague.

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'day before; and having arrived in their camp at midnight, 'unſpeakably fatigued, received that very inſtant orders to 'advance near ten Engliſh miles farther; where, juſt at day-'break, they were joined by the king, who, without allowing 'his troops the leaſt repoſe, immediately began the attack. 'The enemy had not a moment to ſtrike their tents; ſo that, 'after the victory, all their field furniture and baggage, and all 'their carriages, fell into our hands. The huſſars of Ziethen 'have divided the military cheſt.' This officer, ſpeaking afterwards of the king's behaviour during the action, ſays, 'His 'majeſty expoſed his perſon to the fierceſt cannonading, with an 'air of unconcern, which made thoſe tremble for his life, 'whom it animated to riſk their own.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 218.

MARESCHAL

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

MARESCHAL SCHWERIN, who was killed in this action, is ſtiled, in the account of it publiſhed at Berlin, "the greateſt general of his time [61]." He certainly poſſeſſed uncommon military talents; and the circumſtances and manner of his death, at ſuch an advanced age, reflect luſtre on his memory. The king was chiefly indebted to him for his victory at Molwitz, where the mareſchal received two conſiderable wounds. General Lloyd ſays of him, that 'he was rather a little ſized man; he had, 'however, a martial look; loved the ſoldiers, and 'was very careful of them; and was, therefore, 'much beloved by them: and though he, on ſome 'occaſions, was very hot, in all his expeditions he 'knew how to combine the greateſt bravery with 'the greateſt prudence [62].' The king erected a marble ſtatue of him at Berlin, in the ſquare called *Place Guillaume*, where the ſoldiers were daily exerciſed. In the garriſon church of Berlin is alſo a monumental picture of him, in which he is repreſented dying, and embracing victory, by whom he is crowned. The colours, which he had in his hand when he was killed at the battle of PRAGUE, are leaning againſt him [63] [o].

AFTER

[61] Lloyd's Hiſtory of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 41.

[62] Ibid. p. 42.

[63] Burney's Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 105, 106.

[o] Mareſchal SCHWERIN ſtudied ſome time at Leyden; and, in 1699, ſerved in a Dutch regiment, of which his uncle

was

After the defeat of the Auſtrians at Prague, near fifty thouſand of them took ſhelter in that city. CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

was commander. In the year 1705, he was a captain of infantry. His uncle afterwards quitting the Dutch ſervice, he did the ſame; and, in 1706, he was made a lieutenant-colonel in the ſervice of the duke of Mecklenburgh. The following year he was advanced to the rank of colonel. In 1712, he was ſent by the duke of Mecklenburgh to Charles XII. king of Sweden, who was then at Bender, and he continued with that prince a year. On his return, he was made a brigadier; and, in 1718, a major-general. In 1719, he commanded the Mecklenburgh troops at the battle of Walmſtaedt, where he obtained the victory. He afterwards entered into the Pruſſian ſervice as a major-general; in 1731, was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general; and the following year was made a knight of the order of the black eagle. In 1739, he was made a general of infantry; and, in 1740, a field-mareſchal.

Voltaire intimates, that the king of Pruſſia was not a little diſpleaſed, that mareſchal Schwerin ſhould have gained the victory at Molwitz, after he had quitted the field. "The "conquering general," he ſays, "was very near being diſ-"graced." He alſo mentions an inſtance of the king being extremely offended with the mareſchal, for remonſtrating againſt his heavy exactions in Sileſia. 'The Sileſian nobility,' ſays Voltaire, 'are ſo cruelly oppreſſed, that they ſucceſſively 'abandon the country, leaving behind them what they cannot 'carry away. It is reported, that mareſchal Schwerin took the 'liberty one day to ſay to the king, "If your majeſty intends to "give back this province, you get enough from it; but, if "you have a mind to keep it, you draw a great deal too "much." Frederick turned his back to him, and never for-'gave him that ſpeech.' Whatever truth there may be in theſe ſtories of Voltaire, it is certain, that the king of Pruſſia had a very high opinion of the military abilities of mareſchal Schwerin, and

CHAP. XX. A. D. 1757.

city[64]. The Prussian monarch immediately invested the city on both sides of the river, himself commanding on one side, and mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Arembergh, and count Lacy, were among those shut up within the walls. It has been considered as extraordinary, by military men, that the king of Prussia should have thought it possible to reduce an army of fifty thousand men, in such an extensive town as Prague, with an army so little superior as his own. But he was of a temper that prompted him to bold attempts; and he flattered himself, that as Prague was very populous, the addition to the inhabitants of so numerous a garrison, would make the reduction of the place by famine the more certain. He did not, however, rely solely upon this, but prepared to bombard the town.

and great confidence in them. On one occasion he had acquainted the mareschal, that he should have forty thousand men, which he was to have under his command for a particular service. The mareschal looking over a paper, which contained an account of the troops, told the king, that he could make out only thirty thousand. "Oh, well," replied Frederick, "it is "is forty thousand, including yourself."

[64] Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, ut supra, p. 58.

On

On the twenty-ninth of May, at midnight, after a dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder, on the ſignal of a rocket, four Pruſſian batteries, which diſcharged every twenty-four hours two hundred and eighty-eight bombs, beſides a vaſt multitude of red hot balls, began to pour deſtruction on the city, which was ſoon in flames in every part. The garriſon made a vigorous defence, and two well conducted and deſperate ſallies: but they were repulſed with great loſs. After the conflagration had laſted three days, and conſumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal magiſtrates, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to an heap of rubbiſh, beſought the commander in a body to hearken to terms. But he was deaf to their ſolicitations; and drove out twelve thouſand of ſuch of the inhabitants, as were leaſt uſeful in defending the city. Theſe, by order of the king of Pruſſia, were again forced back; which ſoon produced ſo great a ſcarcity of proviſions within the walls, that the Auſtrians were reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſe-fleſh, forty horſes being daily diſtributed to the troops, and the ſame food ſold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. Such was the wretched condition of the city of Prague at the beginning of the month of June; and the affairs of the empreſs-queen now ſeemed to be in a very critical, and almoſt deſperate ſituation. Her principal commanders were coop-

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ed up in Prague, that capital appeared in imminent danger of being taken, all her hereditary dominions were open and expoſed, and the whole fertile tract of country, from Egra to the Moldaw, was already in actual poſſeſſion of the Pruſſians [65].

[65] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 134. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 17.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*Mareſchal Daun takes under his command the troops of the empreſs-queen.—He defeats the Pruſſian monarch at the battle of Kolin.—Frederick raiſes the ſiege of Prague, and retires into Saxony.—The town of Zittau attacked by the Auſtrians, and nearly deſtroyed.—The prince of Pruſſia leaves the army.—The French make themſelves maſters of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres, and Embden, and of the electorate of Hanover.*

THE king of Pruſſia had opened the campaign of the year 1757, with the moſt conſummate military ſkill; and, in the battle of PRAGUE, had gained a ſignal victory over the Auſtrians. Indeed, the manner in which he opened his campaigns, has been particularly admired by military men. Major-general Lloyd ſays, that 'no general has ever 'opened the different campaigns with more greatneſs or preciſion than the king of Pruſſia. His 'quarters were ſo diſpoſed, that it was ſcarcely 'poſſible, from thence, to gueſs at his intentions; 'as he could, ſeemingly, with equal facility, form 'very different enterprizes. From whence it always happened, that he began his operations with 'great views, celerity, and exactneſs; and, when 'his troops were attacked in their quarters, they 'always aſſembled in the places appointed, without 'ever

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'ever having ſuffered any conſiderable loſs: which 'is the more extraordinary, as he had very few 'light troops, eſpecially in the beginning [66].'

BUT though Frederick had hitherto been thus ſucceſsful, yet he was now about to ſuſtain a conſiderable reverſe of fortune. This was chiefly occaſioned by the appearance, on the theatre of war, of a new general, LEOPOLD count DAUN, who was now appointed to command the Auſtrian troops. He had never commanded in chief before; but he had been formed, by a long courſe of experience, in various parts of Europe, and under the ableſt generals. Though of an illuſtrious deſcent, he had riſen to his preſent rank by the ſlow gradation of mere merit, without any aſſiſtance from court favour [P]. He had under his command

[66] Hiſtory of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 51.

[P] Count DAUN was born in 1695, at Knin, a ſmall city ſituated upon a branch of the Moldaw, about ten leagues from Prague. His father, Joſeph count Daun, was of the imperial family; and his mother was daughter of count Konigſegg. At her marriage, her portion was five thouſand florins, and the little city of Konigſegg. The young count was not brought up in the manner uſual to perſons of his rank: he had few indulgencies, and his food was coarſe, and his clothes plain. He always went bare-headed; he was ſent to ſchool with other boys of his own age; and with them he was ſuffered to ramble about the woods, and to clamber up precipices, according to the cuſtom of the country. He was educated at Kolin, and the books in which he moſt delighted were Juſtin and Quintus Curtius, particularly the latter. At the age of fourteen he was ſent

mand a large body of troops from Moravia, and received orders, before the battle of Prague, to join the main Auſtrian army near that city. When he arrived within a few miles of Prague, he received information of the victory, which had been obtained by the king of Pruſſia only the day before. Orders were afterwards ſent to him from the

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ſent to the army in Flanders, and learned the firſt rudiments of the art of war under prince Eugene. He was a volunteer at the battle of Malplaquet; and his perſonal bravery being then much taken notice of by the famous count Kevenhuller, he was honoured after the battle with a ſtandard in the regiment of Keyſler, which he kept till the year 1717, when prince Eugene gave a total defeat to the Turks, at the battle of Peterwaradin. He had then ſtudied for ſix years the arts of gunnery and fortification; and it is alſo ſaid, that there was ſcarcely a village in Germany, Bohemia, or Hungary, with the ſituation and importance of which he was not accurately acquainted.

After the battle of Peterwaradin, he was advanced, by prince Eugene, to be a captain of dragoons; and, three years after, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was preſent at the ſiege of Philipſburgh in 1734; and it was under his direction, that the cannon was fired by which mareſchal Berwick was killed; though he regretted the death of that general, both on account of his military talents, and his virtues as a man. Count Daun ſerved in the Auſtrian army as a colonel of dragoons, in the firſt war that broke out between the king of Pruſſia and the empreſs-queen; and at the battle of Dettingen he commanded ſome Hungarians againſt the French. In 1745, he was made a general of infantry; and in 1751, he was commandant of Vienna. In 1753, he was made a knight of the golden fleece; and, in 1754, was promoted to the rank of field-mareſchal. He was a middle ſized man, and of a countenance remarkably engaging.

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court of Vienna, to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for the ſervice of the empreſs-queen. He collected the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Auſtrian army, and ſoon drew together a force ſo conſiderable, as to attract the notice of the king of Pruſſia, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to attack him before numbers ſhould render him formidable. But count Daun was too prudent to give battle, with diſpirited troops, to an army fluſhed with victory. He retired, when he received information that the Pruſſians were advancing, and took poſt at KOLIN. Here he intrenched himſelf ſtrongly, and his army ſoon grew more numerous by the ſuccours, which the court of Vienna exerted all their power to ſend him; and he inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, in expectation of being ſoon relieved. He divided the Pruſſian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his deſigns; he weakened his efforts againſt Prague, and harraſſed him by cutting off his convoys; and, by degrees, he reſtored the languiſhing and almoſt deſponding ſpirit of the Auſtrian troops.

THE king of Pruſſia was fully ſenſible of the dangerous tendency to himſelf of the conduct of count Daun. He, therefore, determined, at all events, to attempt to diſlodge him from his poſt. He accordingly prepared to attack him with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up

with

with the other. The Auſtrians now amounted to ſixty thouſand men; and they were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was fortified, and defended with heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills ſecured by difficult defiles. Yet ſtrong as this ſituation was, and numerous as the Auſtrians were, Frederick undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot not exceeding thirty-two thouſand men [67]. It is ſaid, that mareſchal Keith ſtrongly diſſuaded him againſt this attempt; but the king could not be prevailed upon to deſiſt from his purpoſe; and was not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the military talents of the general with whom he was about to encounter.

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It was on the eighteenth of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, that the king of Pruſſia began the attack of the Auſtrians at KOLIN, under count Daun. The Pruſſian infantry marched up to the heights on which the Auſtrians were poſted, and attacked their firſt line with great intrepidity. They drove them from two eminences ſecured with heavy cannon, and from two villages defended by ſeveral batteries. But, in attacking the third eminence, they were flanked by the Auſtrian cavalry; the Auſtrian grape ſhot alſo poured like hail upon the Pruſſians; and after a violent conflict, and a

[67] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 135, 136. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 18.

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prodigious loſs of men, they were thrown into diſorder. Animated with the preſence of their king, the Pruſſians, however, ſoon rallied, and returned with double ardour to the charge. But they were a ſecond time repulſed. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action; and ſeven times did the Pruſſians return to the attack; but without ſucceſs. The inferiority of the Pruſſian infantry, the diſadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous ſituation of the Auſtrians, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, and numbers, joined to the ſkill and conduct of their general, all conſpired to defeat the hopes of the Pruſſians, to ſurmount their valour, and to compel them to retreat. The king himſelf, at the head of his cavalry, made one furious and concluding charge. Every effort was made, but every thing proved unſucceſsful. At laſt, after expoſing his perſon in the moſt dangerous ſituations, Frederick drew off his forces from the field of battle, and retired in ſuch good order, in ſight of the enemy, as prevented a purſuit, or the loſs of his artillery and baggage [68].

THE loſs of the Pruſſians, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, in the battle of KOLIN, was about fourteen thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, was computed to be more than eight thouſand. Mareſchal Daun had a horſe

[68] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 137, 138. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

killed

killed under him, and received two wounds in the action; but they were neither of them dangerous. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

THE Pruſſian army having retreated to Nimburg, the king left the command to the prince of Bevern, and being eſcorted by twelve or fourteen huſſars, immediately ſet out for Prague, where he arrived the next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horſeback. He gave inſtant orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and theſe orders were executed with ſo much celerity, that the tents were ſtruck, and the army on their march, before the garriſon was informed of the king's defeat. But when the news of the battle arrived at Prague, prince Charles of Lorrain ſallied out with a large body of the Auſtrians, and attacked the rear of the Pruſſians; though he was no farther ſucceſsful againſt them, than by killing about two hundred of their men. The ſiege of Prague being thus raiſed, the impriſoned Auſtrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with the utmoſt joy, and their united forces became greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia [69].

AFTER the battle of Kolin, Frederick very frankly acknowledged his own imprudence, in the attack which he had made upon the Auſtrian general, when he was ſo ſtrongly poſted, and with an inferior force. In a letter written by him at this

[69] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 139, 140.

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time to the earl-marſhal of Scotland [q], brother to mareſchal Keith, are the following paſſages: 'The imperial grenadiers are an admirable corps: 'one hundred companies defended a riſing ground, 'which my beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdi-'nand, who commanded them, returned ſeven 'times to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt 'he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. 'The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and 'well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to Lichten-'ſtein, who had the direction of it. That of 'Pruſſia only can diſpute it with him. I had too 'few infantry. All my cavalry were preſent, and 'idle ſpectators, excepting a bold puſh that I made 'with my houſehold troops, and ſome dragoons. 'Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, 'in return, were not ſparing of theirs. They had 'the advantage of a riſing ground, of entrench-'ments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of

[q] GEORGE KEITH, Earl-Marſhal of Scotland, having engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and been preſent at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was afterwards attainted in parliament. He was much reſpected for his perſonal virtues, and was made by the king of Pruſſia governor of Neufchatel. He was likewiſe employed by the Pruſſian monarch as ambaſſador to France; and, by his interceſſion, received a pardon from king George II. for the ſhare he had in the rebellion of 1715; and, in 1760, his attainder was reverſed. After his pardon had paſſed the ſeals, he repaired to London, and was preſented to the king, by whom he was graciouſly received: But he ſoon after returned again to Berlin, and continued in the ſervice of the king of Pruſſia.

'my

'my regiments were repulsed by their musquetry. 'Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my 'worthy brothers: they are too brave.—Fortune 'turned her back on me that day. I ought to 'have expected it. She is a female, and I am no 'gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more in- 'fantry.—Success, my dear lord, often occasions a 'destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions 'were not sufficient to dislodge sixty thousand men 'from an advantageous post. Another time we 'will do better.—What say you of this league, 'which has only the marquis of Brandenburgh for 'its object? The great elector would be surprized 'to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the 'Austrians, almost all Germany, and an hundred 'thousand French auxiliaries. I know not whether 'it will be dishonourable in me to submit; but I 'am sure that there will be no great glory in 'vanquishing me [70].'

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BESIDES the loss which the king of Prussia sustained, in killed and wounded, in the battle of Kolin, he also lost great numbers of his men by desertion; and was, soon after, obliged to retreat towards Saxony. Having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, he fixed his camp on the banks of that river at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched; whilst mareschal Keith, with the troops under his

[70] London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 385. Smollett, p. 139.

command,

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command, encamped on the oppoſite ſhore; a free communication being kept open, by means of a bridge. Detachments were ſent, at the ſame time, to ſecure the paſſes into Saxony.

THIS poſition of the king of Pruſſia prevented the Auſtrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe: they, therefore, moved, by ſlow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau. On the fourteenth of July, a detachment from the main Auſtrian army ſuddenly attacked the important poſt of Gabel, ſituated between Boemiſh-Leypa, and Zittau; and took it after an obſtinate defence, of thirty-ſix hours, made by the Pruſſian garriſon, under major-general Putkammer, conſiſting of four battalions, who were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Auſtrians then proceeded to Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines, and a conſiderable garriſon. The prince of Pruſſia was alſo in the neighbourhood with a body of troops; but they were too few in number to enable him to oppoſe the Auſtrians. Zittau belonged to the king of Poland as elector of Saxony: but the Auſtrians, paying no regard to the inhabitants as friends or allies, but being determined to reduce the place, before the king of Pruſſia could march to its relief, they no ſooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with ſuch fury, that moſt of the garriſon, finding themſelves unable to reſiſt, made their

eſcape,

dope, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines; leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible. This he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. A furious cannonading, which began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, lasted till five in the evening. In that space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into the city, with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion, which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town. The inhabitants then flattered themselves, that they had nothing farther to fear; and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and in saving the place. But their expectations were miserably disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular Austrian troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau. Instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached; so that all the valuable merchandize they contained, was either carried off, or reduced to ashes. Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate,

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and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this assault [R]. Many others also, who were maimed and wounded, were afterwards dug out of the ruins [71].

As Augustus William, the prince-royal of Prussia, commanded in the neighbourhood of Zittau, he was in some degree a witness to the destruction of the place, and was much affected with the distress of the inhabitants. This place was

[R] In one account it is said, 'that the taking of Zittau was 'attended with many uncommon circumstances of cruelty on one 'side, and distress on the other.'—'The mothers, wives, and 'children of the merchants, were killed as they were sitting in 'their chambers and nurseries, by the bombs that fell through 'the roofs of the houses. Six hundred and twenty-three dwel-'ling-houses, besides warehouses, were burnt to the ground. 'The stadthouse also, with all the other public buildings, were 'destroyed, except the cathedral, which was so much damaged, 'that it was every moment expected to fall. The number of 'citizens, of both sexes, that were killed in this assault, amounts 'to more than four hundred, not reckoning those that were 'buried under the ruins, or bruised, burnt, and otherwise 'wounded, by the bursting of bombs, and the falling of houses.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 379. Another account says, 'Ninety persons have been dug out of the ruins. Dr. Stromme-'lius's widow, with her whole family, consisting of fourteen 'persons, and sixty-four others, were found dead in their 'houses.' Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 190.

[71] Smollett, p. 164, 165. London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 61, 169.

chiefly

chiefly deſtroyed by the Auſtrians; but the prince is ſaid about this time to have made ſome ſtrong repreſentations to his brother upon the calamities with which the preſent war was attended; which gave the king ſo much offence, that he told the prince, "That the air of Berlin would be better "for him than that of the camp." He quitted the army ſoon after, and retired to Berlin, where he died the following year. He is reported to have much diſapproved of the conduct of his brother at the commencement of the war, and to have remonſtrated with him upon the ſubject. Baron Bielfeld ſpeaks highly of the many excellent qualities of this prince; and Dr. Smollett ſays, that "none was ever more remarkable for humanity "and the ſocial virtues;" that "he diſliked the "violent proceedings of the king his brother;" and that "grief, and concern for the welfare of "his brother, and for the ſteps taken by him, had "no ſmall ſhare in his death [72]."

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THE French army, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe, having paſſed the Rhine, that general had, early in the campaign, made himſelf maſter of Cleves, Meurs, and Gueldres; whilſt a detachment, from the army of mareſchal d'Etrees, had ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever elſe belonged to the king of Pruſſia in Eaſt Frieſland. In the month of April, the duke of Cumberland was ſent over, from England, to

[72] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra.

command

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command an army of obſervation, as it was ſtiled, and which was intended for the defence of Hanover. This army conſiſted of nearly forty thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians, together with a few regiments ſent by the king of Pruſſia, but which were chiefly compoſed of Saxons. With this army the duke of Cumberland attempted in vain to obſtruct the progreſs of mareſchal d'Etrees; and, after ſome unſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire behind the Weſer, and the French paſſed that river without oppoſition[73]. The duke continued to retreat before mareſchal d'Etrees, till he reached the village of Haſtenbeck. Having choſen an advantageous poſt, he there attempted to make a ſtand, on the twenty-fifth of July; but being worſted, after a vigorous reſiſtance, he was obliged to quit his ſtation. He then retreated to Hamelen, where he left a garriſon, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after ſending away all his magazines, ſick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle of Haſtenbeck, the French ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunſwick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies

[73] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 262.

of

of Bremen and Verden; and ſoon after the duke de Chevreuſe was detached, with two thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of the capital of the electorate of Hanover. He accordingly entered that city, and aſſumed the office of governor of it, on the ninth of Auguſt. The Hanoverian garriſon was diſarmed, but left at liberty to retire where they pleaſed. CHAP. XXI. A. D. 1757.

As the French were thus become maſters of Hanover, all that the king of Great Britain had dreaded concerning it had now taken place; and it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that his electorate had derived no ſecurity from his treaty with the king of Pruſſia. The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had a ſubſidy from Great Britain, took part alſo with the Pruſſian monarch; but almoſt all the other German princes were united againſt him. Of the nine electors of Germany, the only one who engaged on the ſide of the king of Pruſſia was the elector of Hanover; ſo little perſuaded were the generality of the German princes, that the conduct of the Pruſſian monarch had any tendency to promote the intereſts of Germany.

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## CHAP. XXII.

*Progreſs of the Ruſſian army, under mareſchal Apraxin.—Memel taken by the Ruſſians.—Frederick's declaration on his dominions being invaded by the Ruſſians.—Battle of Groſs Jagerſdorff.—Retreat of the Ruſſians.—The Swedes invade the Pruſſian dominions; but are ſucceſsfully oppoſed by general Lehwald.—Convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Declaration of the king of Great Britain.*

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THE Ruſſian army, commanded by mareſchal Apraxin, which was intended to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, having been diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and other neceſſaries, had been more than ſix months delayed upon its march; but in May the Ruſſian general [s] advanced with his army, in four columns, towards the frontiers of Pruſſia. Three of theſe columns paſſed through Poland, and the fourth through Samogitia, towards Memel. The laſt column was commanded

[s] If an account, which was publiſhed of mareſchal APRAXIN at the time, was in any degree juſt, this general was not very well adapted for expeditious marches. The account to which I refer is the following: 'The Ruſſian field-mareſchal 'Apraxin is ſo monſtrouſly fat, that he can neither walk on 'foot, nor ride on horſeback; nor, without great difficulty, 'in a coach; ſo that he is always carried in a litter, and travels 'only two leagues a day.' Extract of a private letter from the Hague, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. I. p. 72.

by

by general Fermor, and intended for the ſiege of Memel. To facilitate that enterprize, admiral Lewis, an Engliſhman of reputation in the Ruſſian ſervice, ſailed with a conſiderable fleet from Revel, with about nine thouſand men on board, in order to attack Memel on the ſea-ſide, while general Fermor did the ſame by land. They arrived before Memel at the end of the month of June; and, on the fifth of July, the place ſurrendered by capitulation [74]. This conqueſt was of great conſequence to the Ruſſians, as they could make of it a convenient place of arms, and, by means of their fleet, furniſh it with proviſions and ſtores ſufficient to ſupply their whole army, and thereby enable them to proſecute the operations of the campaign. CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1757.

BEFORE the taking of Memel, the king of Pruſſia had ordered general Lehwald, with about thirty thouſand men, to march to the frontiers of Pruſſia, and oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians. That general accordingly aſſembled his army in the month of June, and advanced to Inſterburg, with a corps farther on towards Memel. And when the Pruſſian monarch found, that the Ruſſians were actually about to invade his dominions, he publiſhed a declaration, in which were the following paſſages: 'It is ſufficiently known, that the king of Pruſſia, 'after the example of his glorious anceſtors, has, 'ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, laid it down

[74] Major-general Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 141.

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'as a maxim, to seek the friendship of the imperial 'court of Russia, and to cultivate it by every me-'thod. His Prussian majesty hath had the satis-'faction to live, for several successive years, in the 'strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and 'this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-'minded potentates had not broken it by their secret 'machinations, and carried things to such an 'height, that the ministers on both sides have been 'recalled, and the correspondence broken off. 'However melancholy these circumstances might 'be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most 'attentive to prevent any thing that might increase 'the alienation of the Russian court. He hath 'been particularly careful, during the disturbances 'of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid 'whatever might involve him in a difference with 'that court, notwithstanding the great grievances 'which he hath to allege against it, and that it was 'publickly known, that the court of Vienna had at 'last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, 'and made it serve as an instrument for favouring 'the schemes of Austria.'

'His majesty hath not neglected to expose the 'artifices, by which the imperial court of Russia 'hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the 'empress's sentiments, and which would excite the 'utmost indignation of that great princess, if the 'truth could be placed before her, without disguise. 'The king did more. He suggested to her im-

'perial majeſty ſufficient means either to excuſe her 'taking no part in the preſent war, or to avoid, 'upon the juſteſt grounds, the execution of thoſe 'engagements, which the court of Vienna claimed 'by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which they 'employed to palliate their unlawful views. It 'wholly depended upon the empreſs of Ruſſia to 'extinguiſh the flames of war, without unſheathing 'the ſword, by purſuing the meaſures ſuggeſted 'by the king. This conduct would have immor-'talized her reign throughout all Europe. It 'would have gained her more laſting glory than 'can be acquired by the greateſt triumphs.

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'THE king finds with regret, that all his pre-'caution and care to maintain peace with the Ruſ-'ſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the intrigues of 'his enemies have prevailed. His majeſty ſees all 'the conſiderations of friendſhip and good neigh-'bourhood ſet aſide by the imperial court of Ruſſia, 'as well as the obſervance of its engagements with 'his majeſty. He ſees that court marching its 'troops through the territories of a foreign 'power [T], againſt the inclination of that power, 'and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to

[T] The territories of Poland are here meant. The Poles were at this time divided into parties, but they ſeemed in general inclined to remain neuter in the preſent war. They were but little inclined to embroil themſelves with the king of Pruſſia, in ſupport of their king, when they found that he was incapable of defending his own electoral dominions.

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'attack the king in his own dominions, and thus 'taking part in a war in which his enemies have in-'volved the Ruſſian empire.

'IN ſuch circumſtances, the king hath no other 'part to take, but to employ the power which God 'hath entruſted to him in defending himſelf, pro-'tecting his ſubjects, and repelling every unjuſt 'attack. His majeſty will never loſe ſight of the 'rules, which are obſerved even in the midſt of 'war amongſt civilized nations. But if, contrary 'to all hope and expectation, theſe rules ſhould be 'violated by the troops of Ruſſia, if they commit 'in the king's territories diſorders and exceſſes, 'diſallowed by the laws of arms, his majeſty muſt 'not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; 'and if, inſtead of that good order and rigorous 'diſcipline, which have hitherto been obſerved by 'his army, avoiding all ſorts of violence, he finds 'himſelf forced, contrary to his inclination, to 'ſuffer the provinces and ſubjects of Saxony to be 'treated in the ſame manner as his own territories 'ſhall be treated.'—'As his majeſty is forced upon 'making his defence, he has room to hope with 'confidence, that the Lord of hoſts will bleſs his 'righteous arms, that he will diſappoint the unjuſt 'enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his 'powerful aſſiſtance to enable him to make head 'againſt them [75].'

[75] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 406, 407, 408, 409.

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THE whole Ruſſian army, under the command of mareſchal Apraxin, united in the month of Auguſt on the river Ruſs, and thence advanced towards the Pregel. General Lehwald, on their approach, quitted his camp at Inſterburg, and retired to Wehlaw, where he continued, till he received poſitive orders to hazard a battle, though the Ruſſian army was much more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians. Having reconnoitred the poſition of the Ruſſians, who had paſſed the Pregel, and were encamped at GROSS JAGERSDORFF, near NORKITTEN, general Lehwald attacked them on the thirtieth of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning. The Ruſſians were poſted to the greateſt advantage, on and behind two almoſt inacceſſible mountains; the paſſage between which was alſo ſecured by a ſtrong column of their regular troops. On the ſummits of the hills were planted upwards of an hundred and forty pieces of cannon, on batteries ſo diſpoſed, that ſcarcely a poſſibility remained of their being ſucceſsfully attacked in front. The Pruſſians, however, proceeded in regular order to force their way through the paſs between the mountains, whilſt a party of light cavalry, on the wings, attempted the eminencies, in order to ſilence the batteries, which kept continually playing. But in this deſperate attempt the Pruſſian cavalry ſucceeded ſo ill, whole ranks being put into confuſion, and tumbled down the precipices by the fire of the Ruſſians, that after ſix

CHAP. XXII. A. D. 175[illegible]

ſucceſſive trials, in which they overpowered but one battery of twelve guns, they were forced to retire with great loſs. The prince of Holſtein Gottorp, however, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond entrenchment, mareſchal Lehwald found that the attempt to carry it would be too hazardous. The Ruſſians were much better ſoldiers than he expected, and ſtood their ground with a firmneſs that ſurprized him. After an obſtinate engagement of ſeveral hours, during which victory remained doubtful, and every poſſible exertion had been made, he was at length forced to retreat to his former camp, and the Ruſſians remained in their preſent ſituation [76].

THE loſs of the Pruſſians in the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, amounted to three thouſand men, killed, wounded, and miſſing. Among their wounded was lieutenant-general count Dohna. The Ruſſians are ſaid to have had ſix thouſand killed and wounded; and three of their generals were killed [u]. The Pruſſians, in the courſe of the action, had made themſelves

[76] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 276, 277. Smollett, p. 171. Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 273.

[u] Lord Cheſterfield, in one of his letters to his ſon, dated Sept. 23, 1757, makes the following remarks relative to the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF: 'The late action between the 'Pruſſians

themſelves maſters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but they were afterwards obliged to abandon them, together with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. CHAP. XXII. A. D. 1757.

BEFORE the battle of GROSS JAGERSDORFF, great outrages and acts of cruelty had been committed upon the inhabitants of the country, by the Ruſſian Coſſacks, and other barbarians belonging to their army. But, ſoon after that event, they were very unexpectedly delivered from theſe unwelcome viſitants; though not till they had left in the country marks of the moſt ſavage barbarity. After remaining about a fortnight quite inactive in their camp, the Ruſſians ſuddenly retreated out of Pruſſia, with ſuch precipitation, that they left ſeveral thouſand of their ſick and wounded behind them, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. Mareſchal Apraxin concealed his deſign by advancing all his irregulars towards the Pruſſian army; ſo that mareſchal Lehwald was not informed of it till it was too late to overtake any conſiderable number of them; though ſome priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians. The

'Pruſſians and Ruſſians has only thinned the human ſpecies, 'without giving either party a victory; which is plain by each 'party's claiming it. Upon my word, our ſpecies will pay 'very dear for the quarrels and ambition of a few, and thoſe 'by no means the moſt valuable part of it. If the many were 'wiſer than they are, the few muſt be quieter; and would, 'perhaps, be juſter and better than they are.' Letter 96.

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Ruſſians made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its courſe towards Memel; whilſt the other took the neareſt way through the bailiwick of Abſternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village through which they paſſed. They at length entirely evacuated the Pruſſian dominions, excepting Memel, where they left a garriſon of ten or twelve thouſand men. The cauſe of this ſudden and unexpected retreat is not certainly known; but the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made ſome new arrangement in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government [77].

But to the numerous enemies of the king of Pruſſia about this time were added the Swedes, who now openly took part againſt him, though the Swediſh monarch was married to Frederick's ſiſter. By the Swediſh conſtitution which then ſubſiſted, the power of the king was extremely limited, and the Swedes entered into the war againſt Pruſſia contrary to the inclinations of their prince. A plot had been diſcovered, in 1756, for rendering him deſpotic [v]; and the Swediſh ſenate, who

77 Smollett, p. 192.

[v] Several perſons were executed for being concerned in this plot; but afterwards, in 1757, papers were ſtuck up at the corners of the ſtreets, in different parts of Sweden, in favour of conferring

who were extremely hoſtile to the king of Pruſſia, probably ſuſpected him of favouring and promoting the deſign. The Swedes profeſſed, that they entered into the war againſt the king of Pruſſia as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, which had been violated by the invaſion of Saxony; and it was apprehended, that, by engaging in the war, they hoped to gain poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of Pruſſian Pomerania. At the end of the month of Auguſt, an army of ſeventeen thouſand Swedes marched againſt the Pruſſians, under the command of general Ungern Stornberg. Having paſſed the river Peen, the Swedes ſoon took Demmin, Anclam, and the iſlands of Uſedom and Wollin, and then advanced into the Pruſſian part of Pomerania, where they raiſed contributions without meeting with any obſtacle[78]. But after the Ruſſians had retreated out of the Pruſſian dominions, general Lehwald, with the army under his command, compelled the Swedes to abandon almoſt all that they had taken, and to retire under the cannon of Stralſund[79].

THE French ſtill continued in poſſeſſion of the electorate of Hanover; and the duke of Cumberland found himſelf and his army ſo hemmed in by

conferring abſolute power on the king; and theſe papers are ſtated to have originated with what was called the Pruſſian party in that kingdom. London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 288.

[78] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 247.

[79] Id. ibid.

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them on all ſides, that, on the eighth of September, he ſigned the convention of Cloſter-Seven; by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannick majeſty, was diſſolved and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, though without being diſarmed, or conſidered as priſoners of war. The French were left, till a peace took place between the two ſovereigns, in full poſſeſſion of the countries they had conquered; but under the expreſs condition of abſtaining from future violences, hoſtilities being immediately to ceaſe on both ſides [80]. This convention appears to have been ſigned very reluctantly by the duke of Cumberland; but it was effected chiefly by the advice and influence of the regency of Hanover [w], who were ſenſible, that it was much better for their country to continue in a ſtate of neutrality, than to take an active part in the war in favour of the king of Pruſſia.

BEFORE the convention of Cloſter-Seven was ſigned, the Pruſſian monarch was under ſome apprehenſions, that, in the preſent critical ſtate of

[80] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 278, 279, 280.

[w] A letter of conſiderable length was publiſhed at the time in England, ſaid to be written by a member of the regency of Hanover to an Engliſh nobleman, in which it was ſtated, that his Britannick majeſty, very properly, was accuſtomed to pay a juſt regard to the counſels of his electoral miniſters; and that the public adminiſtration in Hanover was not of ſo deſpotic a nature, as it was apprehended to be in England.

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his affairs, he ſhould be deſerted by his ally, the king of Great Britain. He is ſaid to have written an expoſtulatory letter to his Britannick majeſty upon the ſubject [x]; and, a few days after the

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[x] The letter is ſaid to have been as follows: 'I am informed, that the deſign of a treaty of neutrality for the 'electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aſide. Is it poſſible, that 'your majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to 'be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs in ſo 'ruinous a ſtate, that they cannot be repaired? I hope your 'majeſty will conſider the ſtep that you have made me hazard. 'That has been the cauſe of all the misfortunes that now im'pend over my head. I ſhould never have renounced the alli'ance of France, but for your flattering promiſes. I repent not 'of the treaty that I have concluded with your majeſty; but do 'not ſhamefully abandon me to the mercy of my enemies, after 'having brought upon me all the powers of Europe. I expect 'that your majeſty will adhere to your engagements, renewed 'on the 26th paſt, and that you will liſten to no treaty in 'which I am not comprehended.'

This letter was publiſhed by Smollett, Entick, and others; and in the London Chronicle, both in French and Engliſh. But in the Gentleman's Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 526,) it is ſaid to have been declared in the Berlin Gazette, that the letter was not authentic. If the letter be genuine, Frederick certainly aſſerted more in it than could have been properly ſupported. His treaty with George II. could not have been the cauſe of all the misfortunes in which he was involved. That treaty, indeed, probably induced him to commence the war earlier than he would otherwiſe have done; and that treaty ſeems to have been the ſole cauſe of the alliance between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon. But Frederick's difficulties were in reality occaſioned by his own ambition; and the king of Great Britain, without foreſeeing the conſequences, became an inſtrument, greatly to the prejudice of his own dominions, for promoting the views of the king of Pruſſia.

convention

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convention of Cloſter-Seven, the following declaration was delivered to all the foreign miniſters reſident at the Britiſh court; and which has been conſidered as an anſwer to Frederick's expoſtulation:

'THE king having ordered an account to be 'given him of the repreſentations of M. Michell, 'in relation to ſome overtures made by his ma'jeſty's electoral dominions concerning the checks 'received in Germany, hath commanded, that 'anſwer be given to the king of Pruſſia's miniſter, 'That it never was his majeſty's intention, that the 'ſaid overtures, made without the participation of 'the Britiſh council, ſhould have the leaſt influence 'on his majeſty's conduct as king. His majeſty 'ſees, in the ſame light as before, the pernicious 'effects of the union between the courts of Vienna 'and Verſailles, which threaten a ſubverſion of the 'whole ſyſtem of public liberty, and of the in'dependence of the European powers. He conſi'ders, as a fatal conſequence of this dangerous 'connection, the ceſſion made by the court of 'Vienna, of the ports of the Netherlands to 'France, contrary to the faith of the moſt ſolemn 'treaties; and, in ſuch a critical ſituation, what'ever may be the ſucceſs of arms, his majeſty is 'determined to act in conſtant concert with the 'king of Pruſſia, in employing the moſt efficaci'ous means to fruſtrate the unjuſt and oppreſſive 'deſigns of their common enemies; and the king

'of

'of Pruſſia may aſſure himſelf, that the Britiſh 'crown will continue to fulfil, with the greateſt 'punctuality, its engagements with his Pruſſian 'majeſty, and to ſupport him with firmneſs and 'vigour.

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'Whitehall, Sept. 16, 1757.

'HOLDERNESSE [81].'

[81] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 417.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*The king of Pruſſia enters Luſatia, and encamps at Bautzen.—He is joined by mareſchal Keith.—Removes his head-quarters to Bernſtædtel, and afterwards repeatedly offers battle to the Auſtrian army; but his offer is declined.—A detachment of Auſtrians march to Berlin, and levy contributions on the inhabitants.—Rigorous exactions by the king of Pruſſia on the inhabitants of Saxony.—The city of Leipſic inveſted by the combined army of the empire, and of France.*

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THE king of Pruſſia, in a ſhort time after the battle of Kolin, finding it neceſſary to evacuate Bohemia, quitted his camp at Leitmeritz on the twentieth of July, and proceeded ſucceſſively to Sulowitz, Luſechitz, Nellendorf, and Cotta. On the twenty-ſixth of that month he arrived at Pirna, near Dreſden, where he halted the next day. On the twenty-eighth, he croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, on the following day, he encamped at Bautzen. In the mean time, mareſchal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harraſſed in his march by the Auſtrian irregular troops, and loſt ſome waggons of proviſions and baggage. Having reſted a day at Pirna, the

the mareſchal purſued his march through Dreſden, with twenty battalions and forty ſquadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Pruſſian army, which was now here aſſembled, amounted to about ſixty thouſand men, beſides twelve battalions and ten ſquadrons which remained in the camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, to cover Dreſden, ſecure the paſſes of the mountains, and check the incurſions of the Auſtrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the ſkirts of the Pruſſian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almoſt daily ſkirmiſhes happened, ſome of which were very bloody [88].

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THE main army of the Auſtrians, having ſecured their communications with Bohemia, by making themſelves maſters of Zittau and Gabel, now reſolved to advance farther into Luſatia, and to endeavour to cut off the king of Pruſſia entirely from Sileſia. Accordingly the Auſtrian army marched from Zittau to Eckartſberg, from whence ſeveral detachments were ſent on the left, to obſerve the motions of the Pruſſians; and on the right, down the Neiſs, in order to ſecure the paſſes into Sileſia. A ſmall body of light Auſtrian troops, commanded by colonel Jahnus, had already pene-

[88] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 163, 164, 166. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 161.

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trated into that country by the way of Trautenau [83]. But as Frederick, after his junction with mareſchal Keith, had a conſiderable army aſſembled at Bautzen, he reſolved to open the communication with Sileſia, and to endeavour to bring the Auſtrians to an action. Having remained for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Gorlitz, he removed his head-quarters to Bernſtiedtel. At that place his vanguard took the baggage of the Auſtrian general Beck; and ſome of his light troops puſhing on towards Oſtritz, where they arrived about noon, they ſurprized count Nadaſti at table. That general had juſt time to get upon his horſe, by the ſwiftneſs of which he eſcaped; but all his field-equipage, his waggons, moſt of his horſes, his attendants, and ſeventy-two other priſoners, fell into the hands of the Pruſſian huſſars [84].

THE army of the king of Pruſſia came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon ſhot of it, on the fifteenth of Auguſt; upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. Frederick formed his army over-againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies: but it being then late, he deferred a more exact examination of it till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at

[83] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, p. 84, 85.

[84] Letter from a Pruſſian officer, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 238.

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break of day, the king found the Auſtrians in a very advantageous camp, covered by narrow defiles and marſhes, having the Neiſs on the right, and on the left a high hill defended by three batteries, one above another; a deep defile before their line, and their rear ſupported by hills. The king hoped to have brought the Auſtrians to deſcend into the open plain, and he left nothing undone to bring them to a battle. But as they were ſo advantageouſly poſted, and appeared determined to avoid an action, after continuing four days before them, he returned with his army to his camp at Bernſtædtel. The Auſtrian army, which thus declined an engagement, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong; which was more than double in number to that of the king of Pruſſia; who, the day he returned to Bernſtædtel, after he had retired about two thouſand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained ſo upwards of an hour. But not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp [85].

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THOUGH Frederick had not been able to bring the Auſtrians to a battle, he had ſent general Grumkow with a body of troops to Gorlitz, of which they took poſſeſſion, and thereby opened a communication with Sileſia, which was one great object that he had in view, that his forces might be

[85] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 172, 173. Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 426.

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able to act in concert, if not united[86]. In the mean time, the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubiſe, amounting together to more than fifty thouſand men, had now joined, and entered into Saxony. On receiving this information, Frederick immediately ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by mareſchal Keith, with ſixteen battalions and forty ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp, under the prince of Bevern.

AFTER the king of Pruſſia had quitted his camp at Bernſtædtel, the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of it on the ſixth of September, and made priſoners a Pruſſian battalion which had been left there. The next day fifteen thouſand Auſtrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeldt's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were poſted on a high ground on the other ſide of the Neiſs, near Hennerſdorff, in the neighbourhood of Gorlitz; and, after being repulſed ſeveral times, at laſt made themſelves maſters of the eminence. The loſs in this action was conſiderable on both ſides; and the loſs of the Pruſſians was augmented by the death of their brave general Winterfeldt, who, as he was leading up ſuccours to the battalions that were engaged, received a ſhot from a

[86] Lloyd, p. 86. Lond. Chron. ut ſupra.

cannon,

cannon, of which he died the night following [87]. CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

FROM Dresden the king of Prussia had proceeded towards Leipsic, his army marching through the great post roads near that city, and from thence to Naumbourg. On the road between Naumbourg and Erfurth, he received information of the hostile entrance of the Swedes into his dominions, and of the death of general Winterfeldt. He seemed much affected with the loss of that general, who was an officer of very distinguished merit, and of great bravery. "I may find resources," said the king, "against the multitude of my ene-"mies; but how few men are to be found equal "to Winterfeldt!"

FREDERICK arrived at Erfurth on the thirteenth of September. Of his entrance into that city, the following account was written from thence two days after: 'The king of Prussia's entry into this city 'had all the appearance of a public entry. A 'squadron of Czekeli's hussars marched before the 'king, who was on horseback, accompanied by 'prince Henry, and several generals; after which 'came Rothenburgh's regiment of dragoons, and 'the march was closed by two squadrons of hus-'sars. The populace equally admired his Prussian 'majesty's martial air and affable countenance; 'but what astonished us most was to see his troops

[87] Smollett, p. 175. Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 426.

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'in so good a condition, after the forced marches 'they had just made [88].' Two days after the king's arrival at Erfurth, he went to Gotha, where he dined [Y], and staid all night, and returned the next day to his camp. Three days after an Austrian courier

[88] London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 321.

[Y] Of Frederick's arrival at Gotha, the following account has been given: 'From Erfurth his majesty proceeded to Gotha, 'from whence the Imperialists and French retired before him, 'after having dismounted the cannon, and broken the carriages. 'On the 15th, the Austrian and other general officers had agreed 'to dine at court, with the duke of Saxe-Gotha; but they were 'disappointed; for about noon the first division of Prussian 'troops appeared, at about three miles distance. The Austrian 'picquet guards retired, at the approach of a regiment of 'Prussian hussars, who came on full gallop; and about half an 'hour after two the king himself, attended only by prince 'Henry, and two regiments, one of hussars and the other of 'dragoons, came up to the city gates, and sent word by a gen-'tleman, that he was come to dine with the duke. He was 'instantly admitted, and took the place at table where the Aus-'trian generals were to have been seated, insisting that madame 'de Buchwald should dine with him, and entertaining the com-'pany with much discourse, and great chearfulness.' Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 472.

A few days after a rencounter happened near Gotha, between general Seidlitz, who had twelve hundred Prussian horse under his command, and a considerable part of the combined army, of which the following account is given: 'The combined army 'was assembled near Eisenach, and intrenched in the defiles of 'the mountains, to wait the attack of the Prussians, who still 'continued near Erfurth. But, in the mean time, the com-'manders came to a resolution of making an attempt to carry

'off

courier was taken, who was carrying a major-general's commiſſion to colonel Laudohn, an Auſtrian officer of great merit. Frederick immediately ſent

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'off Seidlitz's party, which was at Gotha, and conſiſted of 'about twelve hundred men. For this purpoſe they marched 'all night, with almoſt all their cavalry, and twenty-three com- 'panies of grenadiers, amounting in the whole to between ſeven 'and eight thouſand men, and arrived about eight in the morn- 'ing. But Seidlitz, though ſurprized, made a good retreat, 'not loſing twenty men. The princes Hildburghauſen and 'Soubiſe, and all the French generals, came to court (at 'Gotha) at eleven o'clock. The infantry poſſeſſed themſelves 'of the town, and it was expected that they would have re- 'mained here. But Seidlitz, perceiving a fog to ariſe, deter- 'mined to improve it. He, therefore, retired behind the hills, 'about a league off, towards Erfurth, where he cauſed one 'hundred dragoons to diſmount, to repreſent infantry; and 'divided the reſt of the troops into twenty-two ſmall bodies, 'which extended themſelves very far; and, by the favour of 'the fog, appeared like ſo many ſquadrons. At one in the 'afternoon, he attacked the French with his huſſars only; and 'news was immediately carried to the French generals, that 'the whole Pruſſian army was advancing; that they lay behind 'the hills, and that they were extending towards the left, in 'order to ſurround them; whereupon they made all poſſible 'haſte to retreat; and, after having marched all night, were 'obliged to return the way they came, without having any re- 'freſhment; ſo that in two hours time there was not a French- 'man left. M. Seidlitz purſued them, made forty priſoners, 'killed about the ſame number, took a great deal of baggage, 'and was very near taking ſeveral general officers, who had ſtaid 'too long in the town. This action, though of no great con- 'ſequence in itſelf, does great honour to the general.' Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 123, 124. Gent. Mag. ut ſupra.

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a trumpet with the commiſſion to the colonel, and his compliments to him on his promotion.

ON the approach of the king of Pruſſia to Erfurth, the combined army of the empire, and of the French under the prince de Soubiſe, which was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of that city, retired from thence, and retreated as far as the hills of Eiſenach. Frederick followed them, with a view to give them battle; but he found them ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it was not adviſable to attack them. As the combined army declined coming to an action, the king reſolved to fall back on the Saala, as well to procure ſubſiſtence for his army with the more eaſe, as to be at hand to ſuſtain a detachment, which he propoſed ſending under prince Ferdinand, to cover Halberſtadt and the neighbouring country, againſt the incurſions of the light troops of the French. For after the convention of Cloſter-Seven, the French army, which had been under the command of the mareſchal d'Etrees, but which was now commanded by the duke de Richelieu, was at liberty to act againſt the king of Pruſſia. The French troops, therefore, had entered the territories of Halberſtadt and Magdeburgh, and raiſed contributions upon the inhabitants. A detachment was alſo ſent by Frederick, to be ſtationed between the Moldau and the Elbe, to cover that part of Saxony and Brandenburgh. And as the king could not bring the combined army

army to an action, he retired first to Buttelstadt, and from thence to Naumbourg, where he arrived on the thirteenth of October [89]. CHAP. XXIII. A. D. 1757.

PRINCE Charles of Lorrain, observing that the Prussian forces were separated at a great distance, and that the road into Brandenburgh was open, resolved to send a considerable detachment to Berlin; and, to cover this expedition, another large body of troops, under general Marschal, was sent upon the Elster [90]. It was general Haddick, who, with eight thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburgh; and, on the sixteenth of October, arrived at Berlin. He demanded a contribution of six hundred thousand crowns, but contented himself with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians also pillaged part of the suburbs, but afterwards retreated with some precipitation, on receiving information of the approach of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau. That general arrived at Berlin, with a large body of Prussian troops, the day after the Austrians had quitted it. The queen and royal family of Prussia had previously removed to Magdeburgh; and the most valuable records were sent to the fortress of Spandau.

ABOUT the same time, as well as in other parts of the present year, heavy exactions were imposed by the king of Prussia on the people of Saxony,

[89] Lloyd's Hist. of the War in Germany, p. 92.
[90] Id. ibid.

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and particularly on the inhabitants of Dreſden [z] and Leipſic [A]. In the latter city the Pruſſian com-

[z] Of ſome of the king of Pruſſia's exactions at Dreſden, this year, the following accounts appeared in the publications of the time:

'DRESDEN, Sept. 7. The king of Pruſſia, before he left our neighbourhood, demanded from this city an extraordinary contribution, to defray the expences of PROTECTING AND DEFENDING SAXONY.'

'The circle of Miſnia hath received orders to lay up an immenſe quantity of forage and grain, for the ſubſiſtence of the Pruſſian troops, during the enſuing winter.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 278.

'DRESDEN, Oct. 12. M. de Rezow, intendant-general of the Pruſſian army, has, in his majeſty's name, required the deputies of the ſtates, and nobility and gentry of this electorate, to pay, in eight days, the ſum of 600,000 crowns, demanded of them by way of free gift, on pain of military execution, in all places where the Pruſſians are quartered.' Ibid. p. 397.

[A] The following accounts were publiſhed at the time, relative to ſome of the impoſitions on the inhabitants of Leipſic:

'LEIPSIC, Oct. 11. Yeſterday thoſe families who could not furniſh their quota of the 360,000 crowns, lately demanded of this city by the king of Pruſſia, were ſubjected to a rigorous military execution. Officers followed by ſubalterns, drummers, and ſoldiers, diſperſed themſelves in their houſes, took poſſeſſion of the beſt apartments, called for victuals and drink, and took what they liked. In ſhort, they live at diſcretion. This is not all. A demand is juſt now made of 200 recruits, or an hundred crowns for each man that ſhall be wanting to complete that number. M. Joecher, one of the profeſſors of our univerſity, a venerable old man, is taken up,

and

commandant had demanded, by order of the king his master, three hundred thousand crowns. The inhabitants in vain represented, that this was a far greater sum than it was then in their power to raise. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion. Such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fif-

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* and sent prisoner to the castle. By what means he hath incurred the displeasure of the Prussians, we are wholly ignorant.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 397.

'LEIPSIC, Oct. 26. NAUMBOURG, where the king of Prussia has fixed his head-quarters, has been taxed at 100,000 crowns; and being unable to raise that sum, the Prussians carried away with them hostages for the security of the payment thereof.

'When the king of Prussia mitigated the contribution demanded of this city, (Leipsic) it was expected, that the hostages sent to Magdeburgh would be released; and our merchants refused to draw bills, as they have promised on London and Amsterdam, till orders should be given for that purpose. But they have been told, that the hostages will not be released, till advice be received that the bills are accepted. We also expected, that the military execution would cease. But major-general Hausen, the governor, has continued it in several houses in the city and suburbs. In some there are thirty soldiers, and in some in the suburbs sixty, besides servants and horses.' Ibid. p. 442.

teenth

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teenth of October, an expreſs arrived, with advice that his Pruſſian majeſty would himſelf be ſoon there. He accordingly arrived ſhortly after, attended by his life-guards. A rumour was at the ſame time ſpread, that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Their fears, however, were in that reſpect abated, by a declaration which was made by Frederick, that he was willing to ſpare the place, upon condition that half the ſum required ſhould be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thouſand crowns; bills of exchange were drawn upon Amſterdam and London for ſeventy thouſand crowns; and hoſtages were given, by way of ſecurity for the payment of thirty thouſand more, within a ſtipulated time [91]. But, after this, other hardſhips ſtill continued to be impoſed upon the inhabitants [B]; and it appears, that even the accompt-books of the merchants

[91] Smollett, p. 177, 178. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417, 442.

[B] In an account from Leipſic, dated the day after the king's arrival there, is the following paſſage: 'Though the 'military execution has ceaſed, we are not delivered from our 'other calamities. A new one is juſt come upon us, by the 'arrival of a large body of troops. Some houſes have from 'thirty to forty men quartered upon them, for whom they muſt 'find proviſions, fewel, and two groſches per diem.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 417.

were

were seized, and detained for some time, in order to ascertain their property and credit.

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As Frederick at this period underwent great fatigue, both of body and of mind, it is said to have made a considerable alteration in his appearance. This was particularly noticed in a letter written and printed about this time, in which were the following passages: 'Many persons, who saw 'the king of Prussia, when he passed lately through 'Leipsic, cannot express how much he is altered. 'They say he is so much worn away, that they 'scarcely knew him. This, indeed, is not to be 'wondered at. He has not a body of iron, like 'Charles XII. and he endures as great fatigues as 'he did. He is as much on horseback as Charles 'was, and often lies upon the ground.'—'Add 'likewise some domestic uneasinesses. The death 'of the queen-mother gave him infinite con-'cern [c]; and at present there is a difference 'between him and the prince of Prussia, which 'cannot be agreeable. They did not see one ano-'ther when the king was lately at Leipsic [91].'

After the king of Prussia quitted Leipsic, he committed the defence of that city to mareschal

[c] His mother, the queen-dowager, died on the 28th of June, 1757, at the palace of Monbijou, in the seventy-first year of her age. The prince of Prussia died at Orangebourg, on the 12th of June, 1758, aged thirty-six.

[91] Annual Register, vol. I. p. 20, 21. Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 456.

Keith,

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Keith, with a garriſon of ſeven or eight thouſand men. But before this ſome detachments of Auſtrian troops had approached towards Dreſden [D], and appeared diſpoſed to attack that city. They did not, however, make any regular attempt upon it; but the combined army of the empire, and of France, completely inveſted Leipſic [E]; and ſent a ſum-

[D] The approach of the Auſtrians towards Dreſden at this period, occaſioned much diſtreſs to the inhabitants, as appears from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'DRESDEN, Sept. 14, 1757. Major-general Schmettau and colonel 'Finck are very aſſiduous in putting this place into a good 'poſture of defence. Cannon have been placed on the terraces 'of count Bruhl's gardens, which adjoin to the ramparts, in 'order to hinder any rafts or barges from coming down the 'river. With the ſame view a large boom is laid acroſs it. 'The walls of all the gardens without the New Town have been 'thrown down, and thoſe who had country houſes there have 'been deſired to remove their moſt valuable effects, becauſe the 'houſes are to be razed, that they may not ſerve to cover the 'Auſtrians in caſe of a ſiege. The troops in garriſon here 'amount to more than 10,000 men, by the great number of 'ſick and wounded ſoldiers that are now able to do duty. A 'great number, both of the garriſon, and of the inhabitants, 'are, however, ill of fevers, pleuriſies, and dyſenteries, which 'for a month paſt have been very rife and very fatal. That the 'ſick belonging to the garriſon may be better accommodated, 'three hundred of them have been removed to the ſpacious apart-'ments in count Bruhl's palace, which is at preſent unoccupied.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 301.

[E] Of the damage which was done to the city of Leipſic at this period, and the hardſhips ſuffered by the inhabitants, ſome idea

a ſummons to mareſchal Keith to ſurrender the city. The mareſchal replied, "That his Pruſſian "having charged him to defend the city to the "laſt extremity, he ſhould obey his orders." He alſo ſent for the principal magiſtrates of Dreſden, and addreſſed them in the following terms: 'I 'ſent for you, gentlemen, to inform you, that the 'prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen has ſent me a

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idea may be formed from the following account, publiſhed at the time: 'LEIPSIC, Oct. 26, 1757. Mareſchal Keith, who 'has been to reconnoitre the ſituation of the combined army, 'has been buſy theſe three days paſt, in preparing to defend this 'city till the laſt extremity. Some of the gates are to be walled 'up, and deep ditches are dug at proper diſtances without the 'walls, in order to render the ground impracticable for the en-'campment of the enemy's troops. Diſpoſitions of the like na-'ture are making in all the avenues of this city. The fine gardens 'round the town, which rivalled thoſe of Holland, are ſacri-'ficed on this occaſion. All is deſtroyed, pulled down, or over-'turned; and the fruit of many years expence and culture 'ruined in a moment. The price of proviſions, particularly 'bread, which was high before, is riſen. Every thing is dear 'in proportion.'—'The proviſions that have been laid up, for 'ſome months paſt, are viſibly diminiſhed by the prodigious 'conſumption made by a numerous garriſon, as well as by the 'inhabitants; though indeed the latter are conſiderably leſſened, 'many having retired to other places. The houſes in which the 'troops are quartered, and none are exempted from that burden, 'are full to the garrets; and the troops occupy the beſt apart-'ments, thoſe to the ſtreets, that the officers and ſoldiers may 'the more readily receive their orders.' Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 474.

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'summons to deliver up the city to him; to which 'I am not at all disposed. He threatens, in case 'of refusal, to come to extremities. He will then 'set me an example to act in the same manner; 'and to him you must impute all the calamities to 'which your city will be exposed. If you would 'prevent them, I would advise you to go to him, 'and engage him to spare the city, out of regard 'to you and the inhabitants; because on the first 'advice I receive, that the troops of the empire 'and of France are advancing to attack me, I 'shall begin to set fire to the suburbs; and if that 'be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist 'from their enterprize, I will go farther, and not 'spare even the city itself. I shall be extremely 'sorry to proceed to that length. Necessity alone 'can force me to it [93].'

IN consequence of this declaration of mareschal Keith, a deputation of the magistrates of Leipsic was sent to the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; who told them, 'That he would spare the elec- 'torate of Saxony as much as he possibly could, 'and particularly the city of Leipsic, and that he 'would not bombard it. But that he nevertheless hoped, to force the Prussian garrison to 'abandon it, or to surrender themselves prisoners 'of war.' It was said, that the prince also de-

[93] Lond. Chronicle, vol. II. p. 473.

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clared, that if the Pruſſians executed their threat of burning the ſuburbs, or the city of Leipſic, he would take revenge on the towns of Brandenburgh, and that Berlin or Potſdam ſhould pay for Leipſic [94].

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[94] Lond. Chron. vol. II. p. 473.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Critical ſtate of the affairs of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period.—He is reconciled to Voltaire, and continues to correſpond with him.—Obtains a ſignal victory over the combined army of the empire, and of France, at Roſbach.—The Hanoverians reſume their arms, notwithſtanding the convention of Cloſter-Seven.—Battle of Breſlaw.—Battle of Liſſa.—End of the campaign of* 1757.

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THE affairs of the king of Pruſſia were at this period in a ſituation extremely critical. The Ruſſians were yet in poſſeſſion of Memel; and the Auſtrians had even entered his capital, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. Beſides what he had farther to apprehend from the Ruſſians and the Swedes, the French army, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, which conſiſted of eighty battalions, and one hundred ſquadrons, had entered Halberſtadt, and levied contributions on his ſubjects in that province. The combined army of the empire, and of France, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hildburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, were in Saxony, and at but a ſmall diſtance from his own dominions. A great army of Auſtrians and Hungarians, under prince Charles of Lorrain, aſſiſted by mareſchal Daun and general

general Nadasti, had entered Silesia, in spite of the efforts of the prince of Bevern, and threatened an entire conquest of that province. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

SURROUNDED by so many enemies, Voltaire tells us, that the king had formed a design to kill himself [95]; and he has given part of a poetical epistle, written by Frederick about this time to the marquis D'Argens, in which he intimated such a design [F]. But from the firmness which the king

[95] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 156.

[F] In this epistle the king expresses himself as a materialist, speaks with approbation of the system of Epicurus, and declares his disbelief of the doctrine of a future state. Similar sentiments are avowed in some of his other pieces; and particularly in his *Epistle to mareschal Keith*, written in imitation of the third book of Lucretius, *sur les vaines terreurs de la mort, et les frayeures d'une autre vie*, published in the first volume of the OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI, p. 221—232. In this poem, which is one of the king's longest pieces, and the great design of which is to prove, that man is a being wholly material, and that his existence terminates with his death, are the following lines:

*De l'avenir, cher Keith, jugeons par le passé:*
*Comme avant que je fusse il n'avait point pensé,*
*De même aprés ma mort, quand toutes mes parties*
*Par la corruption seront anéanties,*
*Par un même destin il ne pensera plus:*
*Non, rien n'est plus certain, soyons-en convaincus,*
*Dès que nous finissons, notre ame est éclipsée.*

It was to this epistle to mareschal Keith, and to the zeal which the king of Prussia manifested, in opposing the immortality of

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king of Prussia was accustomed to manifest in adversity, and in the most trying situations, it seems, as the soul, and the doctrine of a future state of retribution, that Mr. Mason particularly refers in the following lines, in his elegant elegy on the death of lady Coventry:

'Think not the Muse, whose sober voice ye hear,
'Contracts with bigot frown her sullen brow;
'Casts round Religion's orb the mists of fear,
'Or shades with horrors, what with smiles should glow.
'No; she would warm you with seraphic fire,
'Heirs as ye are of heaven's eternal day;
'Would bid you boldly to that heav'n aspire,
'Not sink and slumber in your cells of clay.
'Know, ye were form'd to range yon azure field,
'In yon æthereal founts of bliss to lave;
'Force then, secure in Faith's protecting shield,
'The sting from death, the vict'ry from the grave.
'Is this the bigot's rant? Away, ye vain,
'Your hopes, your fears, in doubt, in dulness steep:
'Go soothe your souls in sickness, grief, or pain,
'With the sad solace of eternal sleep.
'Yet will I praise you, triflers as ye are,
'More than those preachers of your fav'rite creed,
'Who proudly swell the brazen throat of war,
'Who form the phalanx, bid the battle bleed;
'Nor wish for more: who conquer, but to die,
'Hear, Folly, hear; and triumph in the tale:
'Like you, they reason; not, like you, enjoy
'The breeze of bliss, that fills your silken sail.
'On pleasure's glitt'ring stream ye gayly steer
'Your little course to cold oblivion's shore:
'They dare the storm, and, through th' inclement year,
'Stem the rough surge, and brave the torrent's roar.

'In

as if he had only talked poetically of putting an end to his life, and that he had not in reality any such

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' Is it for glory? that juſt Fate denies.
' Long muſt the warrior moulder in his ſhroud,
' E'er from her trump the heav'n-breath'd accents riſe,
' That lift the Hero from the fighting crowd.
' Is it his graſp of empire to extend?
' To curb the fury of inſulting foes?
' Ambition, ceaſe: the idle conteſt end:
' 'Tis but a kingdom thou canſt win or loſe.
' And why muſt murder'd myriads loſe their all,
' (If life be all) why deſolation lour,
' With famiſh'd frown, on this affrighted ball,
' That thou may'ſt flame the meteor of an hour?
' Go, wiſer ye, that flutter life away,
' Crown with the mantling juice the goblet high;
' Weave the light dance, with feſtive freedom gay,
' And live your moment, ſince the next ye die.
' Yet know, vain Sceptics, know, th' Almighty mind,
' Who breath'd on man a portion of his fire,
' Bade his free ſoul, by earth nor time confin'd,
' To heav'n, to immortality aſpire.
' Nor ſhall the pile of hope, his mercy rear'd,
' By vain philoſophy be e'er deſtroy'd.'——

The ideas of the king of Pruſſia, concerning the immortality of the ſoul, appear to have been different at different periods of his life. In a letter written by him to M. Suhm, dated June 6, 1736, is the following paſſage: ' The thought alone of your ' death, my dear Suhm, affords to me an argument in proof of ' the immortality of the ſoul. For is it poſſible, that the being ' by which you are actuated; the ſpirit which acts in you with ' ſo much clearneſs, brightneſs, and intelligence; which is ſo ' different from matter and from body; that fine ſoul, endowed

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such serious intention. When a man only talks of killing himself in verse, it is probable that he is not very much in earnest.

NOTWITHSTANDING the manner in which a separation had taken place between Frederick and Voltaire, they were afterwards, at least apparently, in a great degree reconciled; and this seems to have been chiefly effected by the mediation of the margravine of Bareith, the king's sister, who appears to have been a very amiable and accomplished princess, and who was a great admirer of Voltaire, and frequently corresponded with him. In 1755, Frederick sent to Voltaire an opera, which he had made from that writer's tragedy of Merope; and this opera, Voltaire says, was, without doubt, the worst thing that the king ever wrote [96]. From that time they continued again to correspond together; and Frederick sent to Voltaire a poetical epistle, dated Aug. 9, 1757, in which are the following lines:

'with so many solid virtues, and agreeable qualities; that noble 'part of yourself which renders you the delight of our society; 'is it possible, that this should not be immortal? No, cer- 'tainly! I would maintain it, even in a solemn argument, if it 'were necessary, that if the greatest part of the world were 'perishable, and to be annihilated, you, VOLTAIRE, BOI- 'LEAU, NEWTON, WOLFIUS, and some other geniuses of 'this order, must be immortal.' Correspondance familiere et amicale, tome I. p. 31.

[96] Memoires de Voltaire, p. 145, 146.

Croyez

*Croyez que ſi j'etois,* VOLTAIRE,
*Particulier aujourdhui*
*Me contentant du neceſſaire,*
*Je verrois envoler la Fortune legere,*
*Et m' en mocquerois comme lui.—*
*Mais notre etat nous fait loi,*
*Il nous oblige, il nous engage*
*A meſurer notre courage,*
*Sur ce qu' exige notre emploi.*
VOLTAIRE *dans ſons hermitage,*
*Dans un païs dont l'heritage*
*Eſt ſon antique bonne foi,*
*Peut s' addonner en paix à la vertu du ſage*
*Dont Platon nous marque la loi.*
*Pour moi menacé du naufrage,*
*Je dois, en affrontant l'orage,*
*Penſer, vivre, et mourir en Roi.*

'VOLTAIRE, believe me, were I now
'In private life's calm ſtation plac'd,
'Let Heaven for nature's wants allow,
'With cold indifference would I view
'Changing Fortune's winged haſte,
'And laugh at her caprice, like you.'—
'But from our ſtations we derive
'Unerring precepts how to live,
'And certain deeds each rank calls forth,
'By which is meaſur'd human worth.

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'VOLTAIRE, within his private cell
'In realms where antient honeſty
'Is patrimonial property,
'And ſacred Freedom loves to dwell,
'May give up all *his* peaceful mind,
'Guided by Plato's deathleſs page,
'In ſilent ſolitude reſign'd
'To the mild virtues of a Sage;
'But I, 'gainſt whom wild whirlwinds wage
'Fierce war with wreck-denouncing wing,
'Muſt be, to face the tempeſt's rage,
'In thought, in life, in death a king [G].'

BUT it is neceſſary, that I ſhould quit Frederick's poetry, and return to his military tranſactions. The poetry, which he compoſed at this period, affords, however, ſufficient evidence, that he poſſeſſed great tranquility of mind, in ſituations of extreme danger and difficulty, and that even the tumults of war could not wholly withdraw his attention from the purſuits of literature.

The king of Pruſſia now thought, that the preſent ſtate of his affairs rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that he ſhould endeavour, at all events, to bring to an action the combined army of the empire, and of France. With this view he aſſem-

[G] The whole of the above poetical epiſtle is publiſhed, in the original French, in Dodſley's Collection of Poems, vol. VI. p. 281, 282. edit. 1763, together with an Engliſh tranſlation by John Gilbert Cooper, Eſq.

bled

bled his troops in the neighbourhood of Leipſic. On the thirty-firſt of October, the Pruſſian army began their march, in order to attack the enemy in their quarters. But, on the firſt of November, having received advice, that the French and Imperialiſts were retiring on all ſides, Frederick marched with the vanguard of his army to Weiſſenfels. That city, which was defended by Bavarians, and troops of the circles, was immediately attacked and forced. The Pruſſians made three hundred priſoners; but the enemy, to cover their retreat, burnt the bridge on the Saala. It then became manifeſt, that the combined army intended to diſpute with the Pruſſians the paſſage of that river. The troops of the empire encamped on the oppoſite ſide of it, over-againſt Weiſſenfels; and poſted themſelves behind encloſures of vineyards, and in huts, in order to hinder the Pruſſians from repairing the bridge that had been burnt down. They drew a line along the left bank of the river; and mareſchal Keith, who advanced with the main body of the Pruſſian army to Merſebourg, found that fourteen French battalions had burnt the bridge at that place, and taken poſſeſſion of the town, at the ſame time that a French detachment burnt the bridge on the Saala, near Halle. Mareſchal Keith marched with a detachment to Halle, and repaired the bridge there; which forced the combined troops to evacuate all the poſts they had on that river, and to retire to

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Michele. The Pruſſians ſoon repaired the bridges, and croſſed the river at Halle, Merſebourg, and Weiſſenfels. The three columns of the Pruſſian army joined the ſame day at the village of ROSBACH [97]. The French and Imperialiſts, who had abandoned the deſign of defending the banks of the Saala, quitted Merſebourg, and encamped in the neighbourhood.

THE combined army, under the command of the prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, and the prince de Soubiſe, amounted to more than fifty thouſand men. The army of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed twenty-two thouſand. On his arrival at ROSBACH, on the third of November, he went to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy; and finding that it might be attacked on the right, he determined to commence an action the next day. Accordingly he made preparations for that purpoſe early in the morning; but when the Pruſſian cavalry arrived at the eminences, from whence the enemy had been reconnoitred the day before, it was found that they had changed the poſition of their camp. It not only faced the Pruſſian army, but was covered in front by a large hollow way. Its right was upon an eminence in a wood, fortified with three redoubts, and barricades of trees. As the combined troops were thus poſted, the king of Pruſſia thought proper to defer the attack; his

[97] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 452, 453.

infantry

infantry encamped; and his cavalry alſo retired into the camp. The enemy, finding that they were not going to be attacked, ſent out of their camp ſome detachments, and made ſome diſcharges of cannon upon the Pruſſian horſe, but with little effect. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE commanders of the combined army now imagined, that the Pruſſian monarch ſuppoſed his own troops to be too much inferior in number to theirs, to render it prudent for him to hazard an action. Elated with this idea, they reſolved to attack him the next morning, and thereby finiſh the campaign; the fatigues of which their troops appeared to be no longer either able or willing to endure [98]. Accordingly about nine in the morning, on the fifth of November, the Pruſſians received intelligence, that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard the drums beating the march; and, as the two armies were near to each other, they plainly perceived from their camp, that the Auſtrian and Imperial infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds over-againſt them, was filing off towards their right. The king, however, could not yet form any certain judgment of their real deſign; and he obſerved, that their ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of ca-

[98] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 95.

valry

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valry wheeled round towards the left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds that surrounded the whole Prussian camp, and which lay in a bottom between the villages of Bederow and ROSBACH. Their cavalry were soon after seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back [99]. About two in the afternoon, the doubts of the king of Prussia were cleared up. It then appeared, that the combined army intended to attack him, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround the Prussian troops, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Bederow, to fall upon the routed Prussian troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Merseburg, the only retreat which would then have been left them.

As Frederick now understood what were the intentions of the generals of the combined army, he resolved to anticipate them, and immediately took the necessary steps for proceeding to an action. But before the battle commenced, he is said to have addressed to his troops the following speech:

'My dear friends,

'The hour is come, in which all that is, and 'all that ought to be dear to us, depends upon 'the swords which are now drawn for the battle.

[99] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

'Time

'Time permits me to ſay but little; nor is there occaſion to ſay much. You know, that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that I have not ſhared with you hitherto; and you now ſee me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I aſk is, the ſame pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a teſtimony of my own gratitude, that from this hour, till you go into winter quarters, your pay ſhall be doubled. Acquit yourſelves like men, and put your confidence in God [100].' This ſpeech is repreſented to have produced a great effect, and to have been received with loud acclamations. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE king of Pruſſia obſerved, that the combined troops had paſſed his flank, and continued marching towards Merſebourg. He, therefore, ordered his cavalry and artillery to march on the left, behind the hills, and to occupy that near Lunſtadt and Reichertſwerben, while the infantry followed with the utmoſt expedition. The generals of the combined army, ſeeing the Pruſſians quit their camp with an appearance of precipitation, ſuppoſed that they were retiring: which appeared the more probable, as they could not diſcover any thing of the march, which was concealed by the

[100] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 22. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 457, 458.

hills.

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hills. Anxious lest the Prussians should escape, and they lose the fruits of their fine dispositions, the French and Imperial generals advanced in great haste with their cavalry, followed, at a considerable distance, by their infantry, hoping to overtake the Prussian rear-guard; and, by attacking it with vigour, either to destroy it, or to force the Prussians to a general action. Being arrived near Reichertswerben, some of the Prussian horse appeared on the heights behind the village. The combined troops continued, however, to advance, thinking that some of the Prussian cavalry were only posted there to gain time, and to cover the retreat. But this illusion soon vanished. All the Prussian horse were then forming, under the protection of some heavy artillery, posted on the hill. As soon as they were formed, Frederick immediately ordered his troops to attack those of the enemy. This they executed with such promptitude and vigour, that they broke them, and drove them back in confusion to the village of Busendorff. There they attempted to rally; but the Prussians renewed their attack, without giving them time to execute it, broke them again, and so effectually, that they quitted the field [101].

In the mean time, the generals of the combined army endeavoured to form their infantry; but the king of Prussia, who had as yet six or eight bat-

[101] Lloyd's Hist. of the War, ut supra, p. 96.

talions

tions only come up, ordered them instantly to advance, and attack the enemy, while they were occupied in forming the line. This was immediately executed; and, being supported by the cavalry and artillery, the Prussians easily broke those few troops which had formed at the head of the columns, and drove them back in confusion. The prince de Soubise did not, however, give up the affair as lost: the reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, was ordered to advance and sustain the infantry, in order to form the line, if possible. But these were instantly attacked, broken, and driven off the field: upon which the combined infantry, unsupported by its own cavalry, taken in flank by that of the Prussians, and exposed to a heavy fire of the artillery and small arms, were unable to keep their ground, and much less to form a line forwards. They, therefore, attempted once more to form it behind, between the village of Busendorff and the Lustschiff, under the protection of some French cavalry. But these being overpowered, and forced to retire, after a vigorous contest, the infantry were likewise obliged to quit the field with precipitation [102].

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General Lloyd remarks, that though the king of Prussia observed the enemy in motion all the morning, he waited with great coolness till he discovered what their intentions were, and then in-

[102] Lloyd, p. 97.

stantly

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ſtantly made his diſpoſitions. 'His marching behind the hill,' the general ſays, 'was attended with many great advantages. That appearance of a flight elated the ſpirits of the enemy, ſo as to make them neglect the neceſſary precautions. They haſtened ſo much, that their army was thrown into ſome diſorder while in march; and they were ſo perfectly deceived, that they found themſelves, all at once, with the head of their columns, under the fire of the enemy's line; and ſo near, that they could not form their troops. The king ſaw this favourable moment, and ordered his cavalry to attack directly; and, though ſcarcely any of his infantry was come up, he ordered thoſe few battalions to advance, before the enemy could make any diſpoſition. One inch of ground, or one inſtant of time loſt, would have given the enemy time and room to form their line. But the king's diſpoſitions were ſo exact, and ſo well calculated, that neither happened; and he was moſt deſervedly crowned with victory [103].'

THE action did not laſt more than an hour and a half; at five o'clock in the afternoon the victory was decided; the cannonading ceaſed; and the French and Imperialiſts fled on all ſides [H]. They were

[103] Hiſtory of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 105.

[H] Voltaire ſays, 'The battle of ROSBACH will be long 'celebrated. Thirty thouſand French, and twenty thouſand 'Imperialiſts,

were purſued by the Pruſſians, as long as there was any light by which they could be diſtinguiſhed; ſo that night alone was ſaid to have been the preſervation of that army, which had been ſo formidable in the morning. Early on the following morning, the king of Pruſſia ſet out to purſue them, with all his cavalry, ſupported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The French and Imperialiſts, who marched all night [1], had paſſed the Unſtrut at Freyburgh, when the Pruſſians arrived on its banks; and as

'Imperialiſts, were ſeen flying, ſhamefully and precipitately, 'before five battalions, and ſome ſquadrons. The defeats of 'AGINCOURT, of CRESSY, and of POICTIERS, were not 'more humiliating.' Memoires de Voltaire, p. 166.

[1] In a letter written by an officer of the army of the empire, who was preſent at the battle of ROSBACH, and whoſe letter is dated two days after the action, is the following paſſage: 'We have loſt all our baggage and artillery, and at leaſt ten 'thouſand men. We marched the whole night, and paſſing the 'river at Freyburgh, arrived at Eckerſberg at ſix o'clock in the 'morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon the field-mareſchal '(the prince of Hildburghauſen) and prince George (of D'Arm-'ſtadt) joined us. They had hardly ſat down to dinner, but 'we perceived the enemy at our heels, who cannonaded us briſk-'ly; and as our army was not got together, nothing was left 'for us but to retreat. Having again marched all night, we 'arrived at laſt at Erfurth, where we now are, in want of every 'thing, though we are rather better off than before. It is now 'eight days ſince our men have had bread: they have lived upon 'turnips and radiſhes, which they dug out of the earth.' Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. II. p. 462.

they

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they had burnt the bridge, it became neceſſary to make another, but which was ſpeedily effected. The Pruſſian cavalry paſſed firſt, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckerſberg. It was then too late to force them there; and the king, therefore, thought proper to canton his army in the neareſt villages; but his huſſars made themſelves maſters of three hundred waggons of the enemy, laden with baggage [104].

IN the battle of ROSBACH, the king of Pruſſia gained a moſt ſplendid victory over an army that was much more than double in number to that of his own, and with very little loſs. Not more than three hundred of the Pruſſians are ſaid to have been killed and wounded [K]; while the loſs of the French and Imperialiſts, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than ten thouſand.

[104] Gent. Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 522, from the London Gazette.

[K] Voltaire has exhibited a remarkable inſtance of that inaccuracy reſpecting matters of fact, which not unfrequently occurs in his writings, in the account which he has given in his MEMOIRS, p. 165, of the battle of ROSBACH. He ſays, that he believes prince Henry to have been the only Pruſſian who was hurt on that day. Prince Henry was wounded, as were alſo the generals Seidlitz and Meinecke. Colonel Prignitz was killed. The firſt account of the battle of ROSBACH, publiſhed in the London Gazette, ſtated the loſs of the Pruſſians at above five hundred, killed and wounded; but, according to later accounts, the number did not amount to more than three hundred.

Eight French generals, ſeveral German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks, were taken by the Pruſſians [L]; together with ſeventy-two pieces of cannon, fifteen ſtandards, and other military trophies. Three hundred waggons, loaden with wounded ſoldiers of the combined army, were ſent, with moſt of the other priſoners, to Leipſic. General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglio, died of his wounds at Merſebourg, the day after the action. After the battle, Frederick viſited moſt of the wounded French officers; and told them, as a reaſon for his doing this, that "he could not accuſtom himſelf to conſider the "French as his enemies." CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

SOON after the victory obtained by the king of Pruſſia at Roſbach, the Hanoverian troops, who had been diſqualified for taking any active part in the war by the convention of Cloſter-Seven, diſcovered a diſpoſition to reſume their arms. Complaints were made, that the duke de Richelieu had oppreſſed the inhabitants of the electorate of Hanover; that the conditions of the convention of Cloſ-

[L] It is ſaid, that in the evening of the day on which the battle of Roſbach was fought, the king invited the French general officers, and other officers of diſtinction who were taken priſoners, to ſup with him. But he made an apology for his entertainment, as not ſufficiently magnificent for ſuch reſpectable gueſts. He would have been glad, he told them, to have treated them in a more ſplendid manner; "but really, gentlemen," ſaid he, "I did not expect you ſo ſoon, nor in ſuch large "numbers."

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ter-Seven had been violated; and that the convention itſelf had not been ratified by the court of France. It was required by that court, that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage to deſiſt from all ſervice againſt France and her allies, during the preſent war, and be diſarmed on their return to their own country. This, the French miniſtry affirmed, was the manifeſt deſign of the convention of Cloſter-Seven; but this was denied by the court of London, who maintained, that the convention was only a proviſional armiſtice, intended to pave the way for a negociation, that might terminate in a general peace; and that it was never intended that the Hanoverian troops ſhould lay down their arms. It was likewiſe ſtated, on behalf of the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, that the conduct of the French in that electorate had freed his majeſty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention; that in the midſt of the armiſtice hoſtilities had been committed; that the priſoners made by the French before the convention had not been reſtored, according to an expreſs article ſtipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners; that the baillifs of thoſe diſtricts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been ſummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, and com-

pelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue; and that the French had appropriated to themſelves part of thoſe magazines, which, by expreſs agreement, were deſtined for the uſe of the electoral troops; and had ſeized the houſes, revenue, and corn, belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to conſider that place as free and neutral.

MEMORIALS were publiſhed in vindication of the conduct of the courts both of France and of Great Britain: but in this ſtate of things the Hanoverians reſumed their arms, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who had been recommended to that appointment by the king of Pruſſia. A letter was written to that prince by the duke de Richelieu, in which he obſerved, that although for ſome days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themſelves into a body, he could not imagine, that the object of theſe movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality, which had been eſtabliſhed between the duke of Cumberland and himſelf; that he was blinded ſo far by his confidence in the good faith of the king of England, elector of Hanover, and of his ſon, who had ſigned the convention, as to believe that the troops were aſſembled for no other purpoſe, than to be diſtributed into the winter-quarters, which had been aſſigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at laſt opened, by the repeated advices which he had received from all

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quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe thoſe articles which ought to have been ſacred and inviolable. The duke added, 'The 'king my maſter having been informed of theſe 'dangerous movements, and of the breach of faith 'in the Hanoverians, is ſtill deſirous of giving 'freſh proofs of his moderation, and of his wiſh to 'ſpare the effuſion of blood. It is with this view 'that I have the honour to declare to your ſerene 'highneſs, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian ma-'jeſty, that I perſiſt in my reſolution of fulfilling 'exactly all the articles of the convention, pro-'vided the Hanoverian army on its part does the 'ſame. But I cannot conceal from your ſerene 'highneſs, that if, contrary to all expectation, it 'ſhould take any equivocal ſtep, and ſtill more if 'it ſhould commit any act of hoſtility, I ſhall then 'puſh matters to the laſt extremity, looking on 'myſelf as authorized to do ſo by the laws of war. 'I will reduce all the palaces, royal houſes, and 'gardens to aſhes. I will ſack all the towns and 'villages, without ſparing the ſmalleſt hut. In 'ſhort, this country ſhall experience all the horrors 'of war. I recommend it to your ſerene highneſs 'to reflect upon all this, and not reduce me to the 'neceſſity of taking ſteps ſo contrary to the natural 'humanity of the French nation, and to my own 'perſonal character [105].' This letter was ſeconded by the count de Lynar, the Daniſh ambaſſador,

[105] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 610.

who,

who, in the name of his maſter, had acted as mediator in concluding the convention of Cloſter-Seven. A very laconic anſwer was returned by prince Ferdinand, the purport of which was, that he would give the duke de Richelieu his anſwer in perſon, at the head of his army.

THE Hanoverian army being now aſſembled at Stade, under the command of prince Ferdinand, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to drive the French out of the electorate of Hanover. Two thouſand French troops were attacked in the bailiwick of Ebſtorff, and entirely defeated by general Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after, another action happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zaſtrow, remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages encouraged the Hanoverians, and put them in poſſeſſion of Lunenburgh, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the French were obliged to abandon. But the operations of prince Ferdinand were ſomewhat retarded, by the reſolution of the French officer who commanded the garriſon of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops had made themſelves maſters of that town, he retired into the caſtle, which he held out againſt a conſiderable detachment of the allied army, by which it was inveſted. But the fortifications being at length entirely demoliſhed, he ſurrendered upon capitula-

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tion. Prince Ferdinand afterwards proceeded towards Zell, where the duke de Richelieu himſelf had taken poſt; but, at the approach of the Hanoverians, he called in his advanced parties, abandoned ſeveral magazines, and burnt all the farm-houſes and buildings belonging to the ſheep-walks of his Britannick majeſty. He alſo reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houſes, and even ſet fire to the orphan-hoſpital, in which a great number of helpleſs children are ſaid to have periſhed: but this circumſtance was attributed by the French to accident. When the Hanoverians had advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops poſted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the paſſes of which were ſtrongly guarded; and his troops were alſo expoſed to great hardſhips from the ſeverity of the weather. He, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters, and executed ſeveral ſmall enterprizes by detachments; while the duke de Richelieu fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The emperor of Germany, and his conſort the empreſs-

preſs-queen, having received information of the operations of the Hanoverian troops, which they conſidered as infractions of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, ſent an intimation to the baron de Steinberg, miniſter from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he ſhould no more appear at court, nor confer with their miniſters, and that his reſidence at Vienna was not agreeable; and accordingly he ſoon after quitted that city. CHAP. XXIV. A. D. 1757.

THE reſumption of their arms by the Hanoverians was an event favourable to the king of Pruſſia, though not beneficial either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover [M]. But before

[M] Dr. Smollett remarks, that if the French had been allowed to keep Hanover as a depoſit, agreeably to what they alleged was the intention of the convention of Cloſter-Seven, 'the kingdom of Great Britain would have ſaved about twenty 'millions of money, together with the lives of her beſt ſoldiers; 'and Weſtphalia would have continued to enjoy all the bleſſings 'of ſecurity and peace. But the king of England's tenderneſs 'for Hanover was one of the chief ſources of the misfortunes 'which befel that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts 'of ſeeing it, even for a ſeaſon, in the hands of the enemy; and 'his own ſentiments in this particular were reinforced by the 'preſſing remonſtrances of the Pruſſian monarch, whom, at this 'juncture, he thought it dangerous to diſoblige.' Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 199, 200. The ſame writer alſo obſerves, that the king of Pruſſia recommended prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick to the command of the Hanoverians, 'becauſe he knew, that he could depend upon his con-'curring with all his meaſures, in conducting the operations of 'the Britiſh army.' Ibid. p. 201.

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the events that I have juſt related, the Auſtrian army had made a conſiderable progreſs in the province of Sileſia; and a large detachment of Auſtrian troops, under the command of count Nadaſti, had inveſted Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it. The Pruſſian garriſon was commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet; and the Pruſſians made a ſally, in which they killed, wounded, and took priſoners, eight hundred of the beſiegers, and did ſome damage to their works. But, on the ſixth of November, the Auſtrians began to cannonade the city very furiouſly; and, on the eleventh of that month, they made themſelves maſters of the ramparts by aſſault; which obliged the governor to capitulate the next morning. The garriſon, conſiſting of four generals, and about ſix thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. A vaſt quantity of proviſions, artillery, and ſtores, fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, together with three hundred thouſand florins [106].

AFTER the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, general Nadaſti, leaving in it a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain and mareſchal Daun, who had inveſted Breſlaw on the ſide of the Oder, whilſt the prince of Bevern defended it on the right, where he was ſtrongly encamped, with the

[106] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 112.

army

army under his command, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Auſtrians being thus united, and intelligence having arrived, that the king of Pruſſia was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was immediately reſolved to attack that Pruſſian general in his intrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine in the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious diſcharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders [107]; and at noon the Pruſſian intrenchments were ſtormed in every quarter. Twice were the Auſtrians repulſed with great ſlaughter; but at the third attack, the Pruſſians being overpowered by numbers, and aſſailed on all ſides, began to loſe ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the prince of Bevern, being apprehenſive that his entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that he ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. He retired, with the greateſt part of his army, to an eminence on the banks of the Oder; whilſt the remainder of his troops threw themſelves into Breſlaw.

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THE Auſtrian army was more than double in number to that of the Pruſſians under the prince of Bevern; and the loſs of the Auſtrians, in the

[107] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607. from the London Gazette.

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battle of BRESLAW, amounted to about ſix thouſand, killed, wounded, and miſſing. The loſs of the Pruſſians muſt alſo have been conſiderable; but general Lloyd remarks [108], that of their loſs no account appeared; and it is ſuppoſed to have been much inferior to that of the Auſtrians. On their ſide general Wurben was killed; and one lieutenant-general, and four major-generals, were wounded. On the ſide of the Pruſſians one general was killed; and prince Francis of Brunſwick, the prince of Wurtemberg, and general Schultz, were wounded [109].

Two days after the battle, the prince of Bevern rode out early in the morning, attended only by a ſingle ſervant, to reconnoitre the enemy, when he fell in among a party of Croats, by whom he was taken priſoner [N]. The command of the Pruſſian

[108] Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 120.

[109] London Magazine, vol. XXVI. p. 607, 608. from the London Gazette.

[N] The following account is given of the prince of Bevern being taken priſoner, in an extract of a letter from the Imperial army near Breſlaw, publiſhed in the London Gazette of Dec. 13, 1757. 'On the 24th (of November) Te Deum was ſung. 'The ſame day the prince of Bevern, commander in chief of 'the Pruſſian army, having been to reconnoitre us, had the 'misfortune to fall into the hands of a body of Croats, who 'were in general Beck's advanced poſts. He is made priſoner 'of war, and carried to Stablowitz, where mareſchal Daun's 'quarters formerly were, and is guarded by a lieutenant and

'thirty

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Pruſſian troops then devolved upon general Kyow; but, on the twenty-fifth of November, the city of Breſlaw ſurrendered to the Auſtrians by capitulation. The garriſon, commanded by general Leſtewitz, was permitted to march out with all military honours.

Immediately after the battle of Roſbach, the king of Pruſſia reſolved to march into Sileſia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Auſtrians. Accordingly he ſet out from Leipſic on the twelfth of November, at the head of nineteen battalions, and twenty-eight ſquadrons [110]; and whilſt he marched towards Luſatia, mareſchal Keith entered

'thirty men. He is treated with every mark of diſtinction, 'that his birth, character, and eminent qualities deſerve. You 'may eaſily imagine, that we are not ſorry for this accident; 'for he cuts us out a great deal of work.' London Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 607, 608.

General Lloyd ſays, that the prince of Bevern was releaſed in 1758, without any ranſom, on account of his being ſomewhat related to the empreſs-queen: but other accounts ſay, that he was releaſed in exchange for one of the Auſtrian generals. The king of Pruſſia having afterwards expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of his conduct, he retired to Stettin, of which he was governor, and continued there till 1762, when he was called to the army in Sileſia, and had a corps entruſted to his command, while the king was beſieging Schweidnitz. This prince was eſteemed an able general: he was wounded at the battle of Molwitz; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battles of Hohen Friedberg, Lowoſitz, and Prague.

[110] Account of the progreſs of the Pruſſian army, and of the battle of Liſſa, ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, publiſhed in the London Chronicle, vol. II. p. 626.

Bohemia

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Bohemia through the defile of Paſsberg, with a view to draw the Auſtrian general Marſchal, then in Luſatia, into Bohemia, and thereby to facilitate the march of the king. At Leutmeritz, mareſchal Keith ſeized a conſiderable magazine belonging to the Auſtrians; he then ſet fire to the bridge over the Elbe, and marched on towards Prague; but after a ſhort ſtay in Bohemia, he marched back again into Saxony.

THE king arrived at Torgau on the fourteenth of the month; and on the ſeventeenth he paſſed the river at Groſſen-hayn, where he firſt heard of the ſurrender of Schweidnitz. On the twenty-fourth, he arrived at Naumbourg upon the Queiſs; and there he received information of the battle of Breſlaw. He then made forced marches; and, on the twenty eighth arrived at Parchwitz near the Oder, where his vanguard ſurprized a detachment of eleven hundred Auſtrians, fifty of which were killed, and one hundred and fifty made priſoners. The troops, which had been under the command of the prince of Bevern, had croſſed the Oder at Glogau, and joined the king on the ſecond of December. It is alſo ſaid, that about this time Frederick was joined by a conſiderable part of the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which had riſen upon the eſcort by which they were guarded, and diſperſed them; and, without knowing the ſituation of the king, had the good fortune to meet him on his march [111].

[111] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 24. Smollett, p. 185. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 6.

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On the fourth of December, Frederick arrived at Neumarck, where was a conſiderable Auſtrian magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a riſing ground. The king ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Ziethen fell upon them ſabre in hand, and ſome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms [112]. Frederick now received information, that prince Charles of Lorrain, and mareſchal Daun, had left Breſlaw; that the Auſtrian army had advanced beyond LISSA; and that their right wing was covered by the village of Niepern, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear. He immediately reſolved to attack them; and accordingly gave orders to his army to march for that purpoſe at five the next morning, which was the fifth of December, juſt one month from the day on which he had gained his victory at Roſbach.

At day-break, a part of the Auſtrian cavalry were deſcried on a hill, about half a league from Neumarck. They had ſpread themſelves ſo much, that they were at firſt ſuppoſed to be the whole Auſtrian army; but, upon a nearer approach, they were diſcovered to be only two regiments of huſſars, and ſome Saxon dragoons, under the command of lieutenant general count Noſtitz. They

[112] London Mag. vol. XXVI. p. 609.

were

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were attacked by the Pruſſian vanguard, who drove them back to their own camp, and took ſix officers, and about five hundred men priſoners.

THE Auſtrian army was very ſtrongly poſted, in front of the village of LEUTHEN, upon a fine plain, with ſome adjacent eminences well furniſhed with artillery, and fortified both on the right and left by ſtrong batteries of cannon. The ground in their front was interſected by many cauſeways; and to make the whole more impracticable, the Auſtrians had felled great numbers of trees, and ſcattered them in the way. The Auſtrian army alſo amounted to more than ſeventy thouſand men, while that of the king of Pruſſia did not exceed thirty-ſix thouſand.

IT was about one o'clock at noon when the battle commenced. The attack began in a wood, where the Auſtrians had poſted ſome infantry, but which were forced by the Pruſſians. Some brigades of Auſtrian infantry were alſo poſted on an eminence that lay behind the wood; but theſe were alſo attacked by the Pruſſians, and routed after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The Auſtrian generals were deceived by the rapid motions of the king of Pruſſia towards their right wing, againſt which he had made great demonſtrations, and which induced them to collect their chief ſtrength thither: whilſt he, being concealed by certain heights, which they had neglected to occupy, brought his whole force, by a maſterly

a maſterly ſtroke of generalſhip, to bear upon their left, againſt which he meditated his real attack [113]. General Lloyd remarks, that 'the king's conduct 'was founded on the moſt ſublime principles of 'war. Though his army was much inferior to 'that of the enemy, yet, by dint of ſuperior ma- 'nœuvres, he brought more men into action, at 'the point attacked, than they; which muſt be 'deciſive, when the troops are nearly equal in 'goodneſs [114].'

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At the beginning of the action, it was almoſt impoſſible for the Pruſſian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments which the Auſtrians had thrown in their way; but by degrees theſe obſtructions were ſo far overcome, that the Pruſſian cavalry acted with great effect; and the judicious diſpoſitions of the king greatly contributed to the defeat of the Auſtrians. When he firſt formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreſeeing that general Nadaſti, who was placed with a corps de reſerve on the enemy's left, deſigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreſeen; that general's horſe attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with ſo ſevere a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in

[113] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 299, 300.

[114] Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 139.

diſ-

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diſorder [115]. The Auſtrians gave way on all ſides, but at ſome diſtance recovered themſelves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. They made a great ſtand at the village of LEUTHEN, which was defended on all ſides by entrenchments and redoubts; and they maintained the battle at this place about an hour longer. But they were at length compelled to give up the conteſt, to yield to the ſuperior valour of the Pruſſians, and to retire with precipitation. They were purſued by the Pruſſian cavalry and huſſars great part of the night; and the king himſelf purſued them as far as LISSA, where his army ſpent the night under arms; and from this place the battle has been generally denominated [o].

THE

[115] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 25.

[o] Voltaire ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, who had beaten our 'army in Thuringia, at Roſbach, ſet out next to fight the 'Auſtrian army at ſixty leagues diſtance. The French might 'then ſtill have entered Saxony. The conquerors had marched 'elſewhere, and there was nothing to oppoſe them. But they 'had thrown away their arms, and loſt their cannon, ammuni-'tion, and proviſions, and above all, their underſtanding. 'They were diſperſed, and their remains were with difficulty 'collected. A month afterwards, and on the ſame day of the 'month, Frederick gained a ſtill more ſignal, and better con-'teſted victory, over the Auſtrian army near Breſlaw. He re-'took Breſlaw, with fifteen thouſand priſoners, and the reſt of 'Sileſia ſoon ſubmitted to him. Guſtavus Adolphus never per-'formed

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THE loſs of the Auſtrians, in killed and wounded, at the battle of LISSA, is computed to have amounted to more than ten thouſand; while that of the Pruſſians did not exceed three thouſand. The number of Auſtrians taken priſoners in the battle, and in the purſuit, amounted to twenty-one thouſand five hundred men. Among the priſoners were about three hundred officers. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon alſo fell into the hands of the Pruſſians, together with many military trophies, and four thouſand waggons, laden with baggage and ammunition. In the purſuit, the confuſion of the Auſtrians became ſo great, that a cornet of general Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten Pruſſians only, took, diſarmed, and brought priſoners to the head-quarters, one hundred Auſtrians; for which gallant action Frederick promoted the cornet to the rank of a captain, and conferred on him the order of merit [116].

AFTER this great victory, the king of Pruſſia marched to Breſlaw, and immediately opened the trenches before that city. On the ſixteenth of December, a bomb having fallen into a magazine of powder, the attacked baſtion, and near half the ad-

'formed ſuch acts. We muſt, therefore, pardon him his poetry, 'his pleaſantries, his little malice, and even his ſins againſt the 'female ſex. All the faults of the man vaniſh before the glory 'of the hero.' Memoires de Voltaire, p. 172, 173.

[116] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 11.

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joining curtain was blown up, and above eight hundred of the Auſtrians. This misfortune obliged the commandant to capitulate on the twentieth of the month. The garriſon, conſiſting of above ſeventeen thouſand men, including thirteen general officers, and the ſick and wounded at the two laſt battles, were made priſoners of war [117]. The blockade of Schweidnitz was alſo formed, as cloſely as the extreme ſeverity of the weather [P] would permit; whilſt the Pruſſian parties not only repoſſeſſed

[117] Lloyd's Hiſt. of the War, ut ſupra, p. 135.

[P] Dr. Smollett obſerves, that 'ſuch was the rigour of the 'ſeaſon, that ſome hundreds of the ſentinels dropped down dead 'on their ſeveral poſts, unable to ſuſtain the ſeverity of the cold. 'The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very 'little regard to the lives of their ſoldiers; and, indeed, this 'practice of winter-campaigns, in ſuch a cold country, beſpeaks 'very little regard to the dictates of humanity.' Hiſt. ut ſupra, p. 189.

Though the king of Pruſſia himſelf acknowledges, in his "Military Inſtructions for the Generals of his Army," that he had made more winter-campaigns than any other general of his own time, he yet makes the following remarks relative to ſuch campaigns. 'Winter-campaigns are the ruin of your troops, 'not only on account of the ſickneſs they occaſion, but becauſe, 'from your continual motion, they can neither be clothed nor 'recruited. The ſame want of repoſe, prevents all your car-'riages, &c. from being properly repaired, and ends in their 'total deſtruction. Nothing can be more certain, than that the 'beſt army in the world cannot long ſupport ſuch campaigns; 'for

poſſeſſed thoſe parts of Sileſia which belonged to the king, but penetrating into the Auſtrian diviſion, reduced Jagerndorff, Troppau, and Teſchen, and left to the empreſs-queen, excepting Schweidnitz, which was now beſieged, not the leaſt footing in that country, in which, leſs than a month before, her dominion was ſuppoſed to be perfectly re-eſtabliſhed [118].

THUS ended the active and memorable campaign of 1757, in which Frederick, notwithſtanding his defeat at Kolin, and the other misfortunes which he met with, had gained three ſignal and important victories, that of PRAGUE, of ROSBACH, and of LISSA; and in each of theſe battles he had himſelf commanded in perſon. It was a year diſtinguiſhed by great events, and by ſtriking revolutions of fortune; and in which the great power of the king of Pruſſia's enemies had been remarkably either baffled, or defeated. The numerous armies which had been brought againſt him appeared almoſt annihilated; and the rapidity with which he recovered his loſſes, the ſtand which he made againſt the potentates that were united againſt him, the greatneſs of his enterprizes, and the

' for which reaſon, winter expeditions ought by all means to be ' avoided: not but there is a poſſibility of a general being ſo cir- ' cumſtanced, as to be obliged to have recourſe to that kind of ' ruinous war.' Military Inſtructions, p. 170.

[118] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 25.

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ſplendour of his victories, arreſted the attention, and excited the admiration of ſurrounding nations. Throughout the year, he diſplayed ſuch conſummate military ſkill, ſuch vigour and fortitude of mind, and ſuch heroic courage, as extorted the applauſe even of his enemies.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Schweidnitz ſurrenders to the king of Pruſſia.—A ſubſidiary treaty entered into between him and the king of Great Britain.—Frederick enters Moravia at the head of his army, and lays ſiege to Olmutz.—Mareſchal Daun alſo enters Moravia, intercepts the Pruſſian convoys, and obliges the king to raiſe the ſiege.*

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AT the opening of the campaign of the year 1758, the king of Pruſſia divided his forces into four ſeparate bodies; one of which he ordered to aſſemble on the right of the Oder, between Wohlau and Glogau, to cover Sileſia on that ſide, and make head againſt the Ruſſians, in caſe they ſhould advance that way; another towards Upper Sileſia, on the ſide of Moravia, which preſerved at the ſame time a communication with Glatz; the third in Luſatia, to ſecure the communication with Saxony, and annoy the frontiers of Bohemia; while the fourth and principal body, which was to be under the immediate command of the king himſelf, was aſſembled near Schweidnitz. As the ſiege of that place had been turned into a blockade, it was not inveſted in form till the twenty-firſt of March, when the operations were carried on with great vigour, and the place ſurrendered on the ſix-

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teenth of April. The garriſon, which had been reduced by ſickneſs during the blockade, and by their loſſes during the ſiege, from ſeven to little more than three thouſand men, were made priſoners of war.

OF the king's behaviour, during this ſiege, to an officer of artillery in his ſervice, but who ſeems not to have been a native of the Pruſſian dominions, an anecdote is related, which appears not unworthy of being preſerved. The king had expreſſed much diſſatisfaction at the engineers and miners in the courſe of the ſiege; and in particular treated this officer, who was a captain of artillery, ſomewhat rudely; and concluded with ordering him to leave his ſervice. The officer, who was then in the trenches, made no reply, but immediately quitted the ſpot. The king, ſeeing him walk off, called him back, and ſaid to him, "You "may ſtay till the ſiege is over, and then you "may go." "I am obliged to your majeſty," replied the officer, "for giving me leave to break "an arm, or a leg, before I leave your ſervice; "but I ſhall ſtand in need of both, to ſave your "majeſty the expence of having me carried out of "your territories." The king ſmiled at the officer's repartee, ſent him back to his poſt, and ordered him a gratuity [119].

[119] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 70. The author of this publication informs us, that this anecdote was related to him by the officer himſelf.

As at the close of the preceding year the Hanoverians had resumed their arms, and began to act with vigour against the French, it also appeared early in the year 1758, that the king of Prussia would derive great assistance, if not by auxiliary troops, at least by a supply of money, from the king and parliament of Great Britain. It has, indeed, been said, that though no subsidy was openly mentioned in the first treaty made by his Britannick majesty with the king of Prussia, yet that a subsidy of 200,000l. was privately stipulated. However that were, a second treaty was concluded between their Britannick and Prussian majesties, which was signed at London on the twelfth of April, 1758, in which it was stated, that the extraordinary efforts made by his Prussian majesty, to defend himself against the numerous enemies, who had assailed him on all sides at once, had put him to a very heavy expence; whilst, on the other hand, his revenues had greatly decreased in that part of his dominions which had been the theatre of war; and as the contracting powers had mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannick majesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most speedy and efficacious

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method of attaining the ends propoſed. It then farther ſtated, that the king of Great Britain engaged to pay, in the city of London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhould be authorized to receive it, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to SIX HUNDRED AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING, to be paid at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty [220].

FOR this enormous ſubſidy no ſpecific ſervices were ſtipulated to be rendered either to Great Britain, or to the electorate of Hanover. It was only ſtated, in general terms, that his Pruſſian majeſty engaged to apply the money in augmenting and keeping up his forces, which ſhould act as might be moſt for the intereſt of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity. It was added, that neither of the contracting powers ſhould conclude any peace, make any truce, or enter into any treaty of neutrality, of what kind ſoever, without the participation of the other.

THE firſt Pruſſian treaty entered into by his Britannick majeſty, was in a very high degree injudicious and impolitic; and the ſecond was extremely burthenſome to his ſubjects. Indeed, by theſe

[220] London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 442. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 74, 75.

treaties

treaties he involved his regal dominions in an immenſe expence, and rendered no real ſervice to the electorate of Hanover. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, was one reaſon aſſigned for a connection with Pruſſia. But no ſecurity was derived to the balance of power from the Pruſſian treaties. Few events could have more endangered that balance, than a union between the powerful houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; and this union appears to have been entirely occaſioned by the firſt Pruſſian treaty. It may alſo be obſerved, that no one intereſt of Great Britain was promoted by the war carrying on by the king of Pruſſia againſt the empreſs-queen; nor could Great Britain derive any advantage from his invaſion of Saxony, a Proteſtant electorate, with the ſovereign of which his Britannick majeſty had been in cloſe alliance, and from whom he had received no injury. Ruſſia had alſo been in alliance with Great Britain; and it could not be advantageous to the latter to be at variance with the czarina.

BUT notwithſtanding the many reaſons that may be urged, againſt the part which was taken by Great Britain in ſupport of the king of Pruſſia, the fact was, that, after his victories at ROSBACH and LISSA, this prince became extremely popular in England [Q]. His heroic qualities excited admiration;

[Q] Count Algarotti ſays, that 'the French army having 'been routed by the king of Pruſſia, when it was leaſt expected, at

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ration; the cauſes of the war in which he was engaged were not ſufficiently inveſtigated, or underſtood;

'at the memorable battle of ROSBACH, and in a month after, 'the Auſtrians at the ſtill more memorable battle of LISSA, 'which was followed by the taking of Breſlaw, the Engliſh be-'gan to talk of nothing but the king of Pruſſia's victories. It 'was a ſcandal, they ſaid, to leave at the mercy of Fortune a 'Hero, who ſhould be conſidered as the champion of the Pro-'teſtant cauſe in Germany, and the only prince on the continent 'worthy the alliance of England, in oppoſition to France. His 'portrait was every where to be ſeen, and was the admiration 'of all deſcriptions of perſons. His birth-day was kept through 'the whole iſland with as much rejoicing, as if at Roſbach he 'had ſaved England from the invaſion of the French. The 'king took the advantage of this public enthuſiaſm, to bring 'once more upon the carpet the propoſition of ſending an army, 'or at leaſt a large body of Engliſh troops, to the continent.'— 'The next year, large reinforcements of Engliſh troops were 'ſent to Germany; the famous treaty of ſubſidy with Pruſſia 'was concluded; and then it was that PITT conceived the idea 'of conquering America in Germany; conſtrained, as he him-'ſelf has ſince acknowledged, by the neceſſity which Engliſh 'miniſters will ever be under, whilſt the king of Great Britain 'is elector of Hanover.' Letters Military and Political, p. 127, 128, 129.

Such was the enthuſiaſm of many in England for the king of Pruſſia, that ſubſcriptions were propoſed to be raiſed for him; and a maiden lady, of Saliſbury, remitted to him, by her banker, one thouſand pounds as a preſent. Gent. Mag. for the year 1758, p. 142. Some Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen alſo made offers of entering into his army as volunteers, but their offers were declined. The king's anſwer was, that "he was "very ſenſible of the honour done him, by thoſe Engliſh noble-

"men

ſtood; and he was conſidered as the great defender of the Proteſtant religion in Germany; though the war, in which he was engaged, had not in reality any connection whatever with religion [R]. He would as readily have united himſelf with the king of France, as with the king of England, if he had thought his own views would have been equally promoted. No new deſigns againſt the Proteſtant religion had been formed by any of the Popiſh

" men and gentlemen, who were deſirous to learn the art of " war under him, by ſerving as volunteers; but that the luxury " and expence of the Britiſh nobility and gentry could not be " admitted into his camp, leſt it ſhould prove infectious." Beſides his apprehenſions from the infection of luxury, Frederick was probably conſcious, from what he might have learned of the Engliſh character, that there were many things in his conduct, which, upon a near inſpection, would not naturally recommend him to Engliſhmen; and that the reports which they might tranſmit to their own country concerning him, might have no tendency to increaſe the ardour of the people of England in his ſupport.

[R] In a declaration which was publiſhed by the empreſs-queen at Vienna, in anſwer to a manifeſto of the king of Pruſſia, is the following paſſage: 'The hoſtile projects which the king 'of Pruſſia hath cheriſhed in his own breaſt were to ſeem the 'conſequences of that zeal, with which he pretended to be filled 'for the ſupport of the Proteſtant religion, which was diſturbed 'or threatened by none: whereas the perſons of beſt ſenſe of 'that very religion are convinced, that if only the ſupport of 'religion was in queſtion, the king of Pruſſia would not ſacri-'fice one private ſoldier to the cauſe.' Literary Magazine, v. I. I. p. 432.

princes;

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princes; and, indeed, from no Roman Catholic prince in that age, did the Proteſtants in Germany ſuffer ſo much, as they did from the king of Pruſſia. This was the caſe not in Saxony only, but in Bohemia, and other places.

AT the period of which I am writing, Mr. PITT was ſecretary of ſtate in England; and it was manifeſt, that this great miniſter now acted in oppoſition to his former declarations and opinions, reſpecting continental connections, in compliance with the perſonal prejudices of the king. When out of office, he had vehemently declared in parliament, that "not a man, no, not half a man, "ſhould be ſent to fight the battles of any foreign "elector;" and his declarations of this kind had given great offence to king George II. When he was ſecretary of ſtate in 1757, he ſtill continued to oppoſe ſending Britiſh troops to Germany, and was removed from his office; but he was afterwards re-inſtated, by the voice of the people prevailing againſt the private inclinations of the king. He concurred, however, the following year, in the ſecond Pruſſian treaty, and in the meaſures which were the reſult of it. As to the firſt Pruſſian treaty, it was concluded when he was not in power; and he could not, therefore, be anſwerable for the conſequences. Mr. PITT poſſeſſed an elevated genius, had great views, and really wiſhed to promote the honour and the intereſt of his country; but he was alſo

alſo influenced by motives of ambition; and he found, that no man was likely to continue long in power, who would not comply with the perſonal prejudices of the king, and ſupport his attachment to German ſubſidies, and German connections. "What the king has moſt at heart," ſays count Algarotti, "is certainly his electorate of Hanover. "This is the compaſs that has uniformly guided "the wars of England, ſince the elevation of the "houſe of Brunſwick to the throne of that king-"dom; and the preſervation of this electorate will "ſtill continue to be the ruling principle [121]."

BUT it is neceſſary that I ſhould return to the military operations of the king of Pruſſia. After the ſurrender of Schweidnitz, he advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and ſent a detachment as far as Trautenau, which was garriſoned by a body of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this ſucceſs he opened to himſelf a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raiſe contributions, and harraſs the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time, the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body of troops againſt the Auſtrian general Jahnus, who was poſted in the county of Glatz, and whom he obliged to abandon all the poſts that he occupied in that country. He

[121] Letters Military and Political, p. 101.

purſued

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purſued him as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was now encamped, under the command of mareſchal Daun. Beſides theſe excurſions, the king ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, who had diſplayed great military talents againſt the army of the empire, which had been aſſembled with great difficulty near Bamberg, in Franconia, under the command of the prince de Deuxponts.

THE king of Pruſſia, by the motions of his troops, took ſome pains to induce the Auſtrians to believe, that he intended to carry the war into Bohemia. But his real deſign was to change the theatre of war, and to penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from ravage and contribution. And if he could have ſucceeded in his operations in this country, his ſucceſſes, by opening to him the neareſt road to Vienna, muſt have proved more deciſive than in any other place. Accordingly having poſted ſome of his troops in ſuch a manner, as to deceive the enemy with reſpect to his real deſign, the main of his army, by a very rapid march, entered into Moravia in two columns [122]. As by this unexpected march he had thrown his enemies behind him, it was expected, that he would have proceeded

[122] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 40, 41.

directly

directly to Vienna. But he ſaw the danger of leaving an Auſtrian garriſon in Olmutz, ſupported by an Auſtrian army in his rear. He, therefore, reſolved to make himſelf maſter of that ſtrong town, before he advanced farther. He accordingly opened the trenches before it on the twenty ſeventh of May, with the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs [123]. He drove the Auſtrian and Saxon cavalry, under general Ville, beyond Wiſchaw; and his army took poſſeſſion of all the poſts, which were proper for covering the troops intended to be employed in the ſiege. The margrave Charles occupied the poſt of Neuſtadt; the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau that of Littau; and the king himſelf took poſt on the eminences between Proſtnitz and Olitſchau [124].

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MARESCHAL Daun being appriſed of Frederick's motions and deſigns, now quitted his camp at Leutomiſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. He did not, however, think it prudent to attack the king of Pruſſia; but ſuppoſed that he might more certainly and ſafely prevent his progreſs, by adopting a more wary and cautious mode of conduct. He took his poſts from Gewics to Littau, in a mountainous country, in a ſituation in which it was impoſſible to attack him. He had the fertile country of Bohemia, from whence he

[123] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 311.

[124] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 150.

readily

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readily and certainly drew ſupplies, at his rear. His ſcheme was, to relieve the beſieged occaſionally, to harraſs the beſiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh [125]. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo peculiarly ſituated on the river Moravia, that it is a city which it is very difficult completely to inveſt. So that ſome of the king's poſts being neceſſarily weakened, by occupying ſo great an extent of country, they were attacked by count Daun's detachments from time to time, with ſuch ſucceſs, that abundant ſuccours both of men and ammunition were thrown into the place. Theſe attacks were moſtly made by night, and very few nights paſſed without ſome attack. The ſucceſs was various. But the operations of the ſiege were greatly diſturbed by theſe continual alarms [126]. The forage in the neighbourhood of Moravia had alſo become extremely ſcarce; ſo that the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions for forage to a great diſtance, and were conſequently expoſed to great fatigue, and often liable to ſurprize. Mareſchal Daun availed himſelf of all theſe circumſtances; and it was in vain that the king of Pruſſia employed various arts to incite him to a battle. While the garriſon made repeated ſallies, to retard the operations of the beſiegers, the Auſ-

[125] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 315.

[126] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

trian

trian general harraſſed the Pruſſian foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, the king finiſhed his firſt parallel, and proceeded with ſuch vigour, as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely fruſtrated by the vigilance and activity of count Daun. That able general having received intelligence, that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of compelling the king to deſiſt from his enterprize. He ſent general Jahnus, with a ſtrong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadt-Liebe, with orders to attack the convoy on different ſides; while he himſelf advanced towards the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. Frederick was not deceived by this feint. From the motions of the Auſtrian general, he ſuſpected his real ſcheme, and immediately diſpatched general Ziethen, with a ſtrong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men, who had been ſick, and were juſt recovered; and who, it is ſaid, "were regimented for the ſake of "order in the march [127]." But before Ziethen

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[127] Relation of the King of Pruſſia's proceedings, from his entering Moravia, &c. publiſhed by authority at Berlin, and ſuppoſed to be written by the king himſelf, printed in the London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 412, 413, &c.

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could join them, the convoy had been attacked; though the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mareſchal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately reinforced; and the next day, which was the twenty-ninth of June, the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, four battalions of Pruſſian infantry, and about a thouſand troopers, had ſcarcely paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly, both on the ſide of Bahrn, and on that of Domſtadt. The head of the convoy was cut off from the reſt; and general Ziethen, though he exerted himſelf like a brave and able officer, was obliged to abandon his waggons, and retire to Troppau [128].

THUS almoſt the whole Pruſſian convoy fell into the hands of the Auſtrians, who took above ſix hundred priſoners, together with general Putkammer. This unfavourable event compelled Frederick to raiſe the ſiege; but if the convoy had arrived ſafe, it was ſuppoſed that the place could not have held out more than a fortnight, though a very gallant defence was made by the governor, general Marſchall [129].

[128] Berlin account, in the Lond. Mag. ut ſupra.
[129] Id. ibid.

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*Frederick retires out of Moravia, marches into Bohemia, and makes himſelf maſter of Koningſgratz.—The Ruſſians enter the Pruſſian dominions, and commit great ravages there.—Siege of Cuſtrin.—The king of Pruſſia ſets out from Bohemia, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians.—Battle of Zorndorff.*

THE king of Pruſſia having been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Olmutz, by the able and vigilant conduct of count Daun, now found it neceſſary to change his deſigns, and to retire out of Moravia. But it was a matter of ſome difficulty, to retreat without loſs, in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to ſeize every opportunity of advantage. In this, however, he had the good fortune to ſucceed. Inſtead of falling back upon Sileſia, his moſt natural and obvious march, but which muſt have drawn the Auſtrians into his own dominions, he determined to take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by mareſchal Daun, when he advanced his quarters to Proſtnitz, in order to ſuccour Olmutz the more effectually. After Frederick had taken his meaſures, he carefully concealed his deſign from the Auſtrians. The day before the ſiege was raiſed, the firing of the Pruſſians continued as briſk as ever; and there was no appearance of their having any

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any intention to depart. But in the night of the first of July, the whole Pruſſian army took the road to Bohemia in two columns, and gained an entire day's march upon the Auſtrians. So that, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts that mareſchal Daun could make, to harraſs the king in his march, he advanced into Bohemia with little moleſtation, ſeized upon a large magazine at Leutomiſſel, defeated ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops who had attempted to diſturb him in his progreſs, and arrived at Koningſgratz, one of the moſt important poſts in Bohemia, with all his ſick and wounded, and with all his baggage, artillery, and military ſtores. This place he made himſelf maſter of, after driving from it a body of ſeven thouſand Auſtrians, who were entrenched there; and he immediately laid the city, and ſeveral other diſtricts, under contribution [130].

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Ruſſian army, which was now commanded by general Fermor, mareſchal Apraxin having been removed from the command, had again entered the Pruſſian dominions, and committed great ravages in various parts of the country. Early in the year, general Fermor had taken poſſeſſion of Koningſburg, the capital of Ducal Pruſſia, without oppoſition [131]; the Pruſſian troops having quitted that country,

[130] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 42, 43. Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 327, 328. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 312.

[131] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 145.

in

in order to profecute the war againſt the Swedes, who had again commenced hoſtilities in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. But general Fermor afterwards advanced towards Sileſia, in order to cooperate with another body of Ruſſian troops, commanded by general Browne, who had taken his route through Poland. By the firſt of July, both the bodies of Ruſſian troops had reached the frontiers of Sileſia, and ſome of their Coſſacks, penetrating into that province, had committed great ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with conſternation [132]. But the Ruſſian generals afterwards changed their route, and entered the New Marche of Brandenburgh [s]; and they inveſted

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[132] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 329, 330.

[s] The prince-royal of Pruſſia died about a month before the Ruſſians had entered the Pruſſian territories. He appears to have had a ſtrong apprehenſion, that the conduct of Frederick would bring ruin upon the houſe of Brandenburgh; and, when his phyſicians informed him, that he could not live more than twenty-four hours, he is ſaid to have written a long letter to the king his brother, containing a free remonſtrance againſt ſome parts of his conduct; and in which letter were the following paſſages: 'In theſe critical hours, in which I am 'endeavouring to collect and to raiſe all the faculties of my 'ſoul, for a laſt exertion, I neither can, nor will, deſcend to 'my perſonal grievances. I leave to my ſons the ſorrowful 'ſatisfaction of hearing you regret, that you have been too ſlow 'in doing me juſtice. I leave it to my brothers, Henry and 'Ferdinand, to point out the difference that you ought to make, 'between the princes of your blood, and the reſt of your ſub-'jects. Your courtiers will themſelves do me juſtice. They 'have

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invested CUSTRIN, a fortified town, within fifty miles of Berlin. Count Dohna, with a body of Prussian

'have treated me with contempt: they have dared to post up 'libels against me. But when time shall have consoled them 'for the expence of that mourning, which it will be necessary 'for them to put themselves to on my account, they will 'acknowledge my rights, and be sensible of the injuries that 'they have done me. Perhaps, sire, I shall be too much 'avenged by my sons, by my brothers, by your friends. I 'foresee it; and it is in vain that I wish to exist only in the re- 'membrance of your majesty. Yes, sire, the regrets of my 'brother will be sufficient, in my eyes, to expiate the faults of 'my king. I should willingly leave posterity in an error re- 'specting my concerns.

'Though I have given some flight to my imagination, the 'slow fever which consumes me has not sufficiently enflamed 'my blood, to throw any disorder into my understanding. 'My ideas are arranged, and they produce themselves with or- 'der. I have a sight sufficiently strong, to follow Phaeton 'even to the utmost height of his course. Far from being daz- 'zled by the rays which surround him, I see with a fixed eye 'the progress of his downfall, the false courses into which he 'deviates, the intractability of his horses, and his own em- 'barrassment. And when I have ceased to reason upon the sub- 'ject, I fix my attention upon the sorrowful spectacle of his fall, 'and upon the misfortunes of his family.

'Your majesty disdains my predictions. Like another Cas- 'sandra, I have seen the court, and the army, insult the genius 'which inspires me. But condescend to listen to me, sire, now 'that I cannot be suspected of any illusion, or deceit, in my 'auguries.

*Fatalis Troïæ. Fuit Ilium.* There is an end, sire, of the 'power, and of the house of Prussia, if you continue to brave 'all Europe, confederated together against you. I am willing

'to

Pruſſian troops under his command, who had for ſome time been employed in acting againſt the Swedes, CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

'to conſider you as ſuperior to all the kings, whom a boiſterous 'life has rendered famous. I admit, that, with the ſame 'deſtiny as theirs, you may always have the advantage of being 'leſs renowned by your fall, than by the great atchievements 'you have made before that ſhall take place. Yes, it would 'be to degrade you, to compare you to the warlike kings of 'Sweden. Your forces are greater than thoſe of Guſtavus 'Adolphus; you have more knowledge and more prudence 'than Charles Guſtavus; and your talents are more various 'than thoſe of Charles XII. Nevertheleſs, your horoſcope is 'more inauſpicious than theirs. The firſt prevented by his 'death the inconſtancy of fortune; the ſecond died of chagrin, 'when he was upon the point of being humbled; the third, 'ſurvived his grandeur and his glory. But their cauſe was leſs 'diſadvantageous than yours. Charles XII. defended him-'ſelf; you have attacked. His enemies were deſirous to 'weaken him; yours have a right to ruin you. His enemies 'required indulgence of him; you have need of that of your 'enemies. He wanted to avenge himſelf; you are an object of 'vengeance. They feared his perſon, they were diſarmed by 'his death: your enemies hate the power, and dread the houſe 'of Pruſſia. Your enemies cannot be appeaſed but by the 'deſtruction of the one, and the abaſement of the other. 'Charles marched againſt three ſovereigns who had defied him; 'you force all Europe to arm againſt you. The princes of it 'are leagued againſt your majeſty by juſtice and by intereſt; 'and their ſubjects attach to your ruin the re-eſtabliſhment of 'peace, the honour of ſovereignty, the ſafety of monarchical 'government. The admiration that your great actions in-'ſpire, is an aſtoniſhment followed by fear, and by grief. 'Men read in your ſucceſs the ſlavery of the human race, the 'annihilation of laws, the degradation of ſociety.' *Vie de*

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Swedes, who had again commenced hoſtilities, now attended the motions of the Ruſſians; but his force

*Frederick* II. *Roi de Pruſſe*, edit. 8vo. Straſbourg, 1788, tom. II. p. 316, 317, 318.

In the above letter the prince alſo ſtrongly remonſtrates againſt the king's treatment of the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and ſpeaking of the correſpondence between the courts of Saxony and Vienna, publiſhed by Frederick, he ſays, 'The 'more you have proved that you were acquainted with the in-'tentions of Saxony, the more odious have you rendered its 'invaſion. It has been ſeen, that, in order to procure this 'knowledge, your miniſter Malzham has degraded his cha-'racter; and that, by means proſcribed in ſociety, all that 'you have diſcovered is, that the king-elector of Saxony did 'not love the power of Pruſſia, that he feared it, and that he 'even dared to form projects to defend himſelf againſt it. 'Pieces which are ſtolen make againſt the accuſer who pro-'duces them, if they do not prove the crime that they impute.' Ibid. p. 325.

The prince likewiſe makes a variety of obſervations relative to the views and diſpoſitions of the different courts of Europe reſpecting the king of Pruſſia; and he remarks, that Hanover and England were Frederick's only allies. On this alliance, he ſaid, the king could not long depend; for the Engliſh were ſufficiently acquainted with geography to know, that "there "was but little communication between the Oder and the "Ohio." Speaking of the czarina, he ſays, 'Ruſſia is per-'ſuaded, that your deſigns upon her occaſioned the applications 'that you made to the court of Vienna, to ſubſtitute a truce of 'two years in the room of a ſolemn treaty of peace. She be-'lieves, that you wanted to tie up the hands of the empreſs-'queen, ſo as to put it out of her power to ſuccour her ally; 'that a war againſt Ruſſia was the principal object of your in-'trigues in Sweden; that you have deſigns upon Courland,

'and

force was not sufficiently considerable to oppose their progress. They carried on the siege of Custrin with great fury; and threw such a multitude of bombs and red hot balls into that city, that in a short time it was on fire in every quarter. Some of the inhabitants were consumed in the flames, some buried in the ruins, and some killed by the balls, which fell like hail in the streets. The surviving majority, who found safety neither within nor without their houses, abandoned their homes

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'and that Polish Prussia and Pomerania would be very convenient for you; that you find Russia the greatest obstacle to this rounding of your dominions; and, in short, she believes, that she has the same interest in your abasement as the house of Austria.' He concludes with exhorting the king his brother, in very pathetic terms, to listen to terms of peace, and thereby to prevent the ruin of himself, of his people, and of his royal house.

Frederick, who had no great faith in the predictions of physicians, is said to have written an answer to his brother, expressing his hopes of his life, and testifying great regard for him. In the letter attributed to him on this occasion, he also made some observations in vindication, or extenuation, of his own conduct; and he endeavoured to shew that his situation was less dangerous than his brother apprehended. He hinted to him, that he had formed some great schemes, which would be beneficial and honourable to their royal house, which he would communicate to him on his recovery, but which he did not think proper to commit to paper. He expressed his ardent wishes for his brother's recovery, and then assured him that he would open to him all his views, and treat him with the most unreserved confidence. *Vie de Frederick* II. *Roi de Prusse*, ut supra, p. 327—332.

and

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and their ſubſtance, and fled, many of them almoſt naked, out of the city, on that ſide which was not inveſted [T]. The governor, however, did every thing

[T] In the tranſlation of a letter written by an inhabitant of CUSTRIN, who was reſident in the city during part of the ſiege, are the following paſſages: 'The enemy threw ſuch a multi-'tude of bombs and red hot bullets into the city, that by nine 'o'clock (in the morning of Auguſt 15,) it burnt with great 'fury in three different places, which could not be extinguiſh-'ed, as the houſes were cloſely built, and the ſtreets narrow. 'The air appeared like a ſhower of fiery rain and hail. The 'ſurprized inhabitants had not time to think of any thing, but 'of ſaving their lives, by getting into the open fields. I, as 'well as many others, had hardly time to put on my clothes. 'As I was leading my wife, with a young child in her arms, 'and driving my other children and ſervants before me, who 'were almoſt naked, having ever ſince the firſt fright run about 'as they got out of bed, the bombs and red hot bullets fell 'round about us; but, thank God, I and my family received 'no hurt. The bombs, in burſting, daſhed the houſes, and 'every thing that was in their way, to pieces. Thus I went 'out of one miſery into another, leaving every individual thing 'behind me. Every body that could, got out of the town as 'faſt as poſſible; and the crowd of naked, and in the higheſt 'degree wretched people, was vaſtly great. Among the 'women were many of diſtinction, who had neither ſhoes nor 'ſtockings, nor hardly any thing elſe on, thinking of nothing 'but of ſaving their lives. When I had ſeen my family in the 'open field, I endeavoured to return to ſave ſomething, if 'poſſible, but in vain. I could not force my way through the 'multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, ſome few 'with horſes and carriages, and others with ſick and bed-ridden 'on their backs. The bombs, cannon-balls, and red hot bul-'lets, fell ſo thick, that every body thought themſelves happy 'if

thing in his power, for the defence of the walls and ruins of the place; but the walls, which were built in the old manner, did not promiſe a ſucceſsful defence; the Ruſſians had poſted themſelves in the

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'if they could eſcape. Many thouſands are made miſerable, 'inhabitants as well as ſtrangers; for many from the open 'country, and defenceleſs towns in Pruſſia, Pomerania, and 'the New Marche, had fled hither with their moſt valuable 'effects, when the Ruſſians entered the Pruſſian territories, in 'hopes of ſecurity; ſo that a great many, who were a little 'while ago poſſeſſed of conſiderable fortunes, are now reduced 'to beggary. On the roads nothing was to be ſeen but miſery, 'and nothing to be heard, but ſuch cries and lamentations, as 'were enough to move even the ſtones; as no one knew where 'to get a morſel of bread, nor what to do for farther ſubſiſt-'ence. The neighbouring towns and villages were ſoon filled. 'I ſtaid till next day at Goltz, to wait the farther event of 'things; but was ſoon informed, that, amongſt the other 'buildings, the great magazine, the governor's houſe, the 'church, the palace, the ſtore, and artillery houſes, were de-'ſtroyed. In ſhort, the old and new town, the ſuburbs, and 'the great bridge over the Oder, as well as all the others, were 'reduced to aſhes.'—'The writings of all the colleges are en-'tirely deſtroyed, as well as the valuable archives of the 'country; which is an immenſe loſs.'—'The fire was ſo furi-'ous, that the cannon in the ſtore and artillery-houſes were all 'melted; and the loaded bombs, and cartridges for cannon and 'muſquets, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at 'once with a moſt horrible exploſion. After the bridges were 'conſumed, the piles and ſterlings were burnt to the water's 'edge.'—'The fury of the enemy fell almoſt entirely on the 'inhabitants; and they did not begin to batter the fortifications, 'except with a few ſhot, till the 17th, after the reſt was all 'deſtroyed.' London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 670, 671.

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ſuburbs; and in the firing of the town, the principal magazine of the beſieged was blown up [133].

THE king of Pruſſia, alarmed at the progreſs of the Ruſſians in his dominions, now reſolved to quit Bohemia, and to go himſelf in perſon to oppoſe them. On the twenty-fifth of July, he quitted his camp at Koningſgratz; and on the twenty-eighth he paſſed the Metau. He was ſomewhat harraſſed in his march, by detachments of Auſtrian troops; but, in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the Pruſſians had the advantage. On the firſt of Auguſt, the Pruſſian army arrived at Skalitz; and on the eleventh of the month encamped at Landſhut [134]. From thence the king ſet out with a detachment, and arrived at Franckfort on the Oder on the twenty-ſecond. In a letter written the day after, by an officer who was with him, are the following paſſages: 'Yeſterday the king entered with us into this city. He rode before the cavalry, who followed him with drawn ſwords. None of us knew whether we were to ſtop here, or whether we were to proceed farther. But when the king came before the door of a houſe, wherein a clergyman's widow lived, he commanded the men to halt, and ordered an adjutant to go in, and tell her that he intended to lodge there. The widow immediately appeared; and, kneeling, ſaid, that her habitation was too mean for the

[133] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.

[134] London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 469.

'reception

'reception of so great a monarch, as her rooms were small and inconvenient. The king raised her with great affability, and desired her to let him have one of her best rooms. He then entered the house; but soon after came out again, and ordered the troops to march. As they passed, we could distinctly hear every shot fired against Custrin. I observed, that the king took a pinch of snuff at every report; and even through that air of intrepidity, which never abandons this prince, I could perceive the sensations of compassion towards that unfortunate city, and an eager impatience to fly to its relief. After the troops had entered their quarters, the king partook of a *kalteschale* [u], with prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau, and general Seidlitz. Orders were then given for our marching the following morning; but his majesty having afterwards received intelligence by one of his spies, we set out again at two in the morning. 'Till that time the king sat up writing in his chamber, accompanied by the prince and the general [135].'

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THE king proceeded on his march, and caused a bridge to be thrown over the Oder at Gataviſe, over which his troops passed, and having made a

[u] This is said to be a kind of caudle, made of wine and biscuit, with lemons and sugar.

[135] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Prusse, tom. II. p. 258, 259. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 135, 136.

junction

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junction with the army under count Dohna, he then took up his quarters at Golaſſan [v]. Here ſome of his huſſars brought in ten or a dozen Coſſacks, whom they had taken priſoners. The king ſeemed ſtruck with the ſingularity of their appearance; and, after ſurveying them for ſome time with great attention, he ſaid to major-general Wedel, who was with him, "Look at theſe men, "and ſee againſt what ſtrange creatures I am "obliged to fight." From Golaſſan the king proceeded to Dirmitzel, where he encamped; and, having joined his army under count Dohna, he made his diſpoſitions for attacking the Ruſſians the next day [w], which was the twenty-fifth of Auguſt.

WHEN the Ruſſians received information of the approach of the king of Pruſſia, they abandoned the ſiege of Cuſtrin, and took poſt near the villages of Zwicker and ZORNDORFF. Frederick intended to wind round the left flank of their army, and to take them in the rear, by which he hoped

[v] At this place the king reviewed ſome freſh Pruſſian troops, who had been quartered here, and obſerving them to be neatly dreſſed, and powdered, he ſaid, "Theſe ſoldiers are "finely powdered, and look extremely well. I have brought "ſome with me who do not make quite ſo good an appearance; "but they have been much uſed to the ſmell of gunpowder."

[w] It is ſaid, that in the evening before the battle of Zorndorff, Frederick amuſed himſelf with correcting three ſtanzas of an ode of Rouſſeau, which he conceived to require ſome alterations. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 259.

to

to throw them into confuſion. But in this he found himſelf diſappointed. General Fermor, who commanded the Ruſſian army, had foreſeen his purpoſe, and made excellent diſpoſitions. As the ground did not permit them to extend greatly in length, they threw themſelves into a ſquare body, compoſed of four lines, forming a front almoſt equal on every ſide, and on every ſide ſurrounded by cannon and chevaux de frize [136]. In this formidable diſpoſition the Ruſſians, who were greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, waited their attack.

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THE battle began at nine o'clock in the morning, near the village of ZORNDORFF, about ſix miles from Cuſtrin. The Pruſſians commenced the action by a fire of cannon and mortars, which rained on the right wing of the Ruſſians, without the leaſt intermiſſion, for near two hours. Great havock was made by the fire of the Pruſſians; but the Ruſſians ſuſtained it with the utmoſt intrepidity. They fell in their ranks; and new regiments ſtill preſſed forward, to fill their places, and to ſupply new ſlaughter. But when the firſt line had fired away all their charges, they ruſhed forward ſo furiouſly on the Pruſſian infantry, that they compelled them to retire in diſorder. This occaſioned a conſiderable opening in the Pruſſian line, and left their whole left flank uncovered. At this critical period, general Seidlitz, with the cavalry

[136] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 51.

under

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under his command, rode up full gallop againſt the center of the Ruſſian army, whereby he ſeparated their two wings, and forced the left to fall back into the moraſſes that lay behind it. Having routed the Ruſſian cavalry, general Seidlitz fell upon the flank of their infantry with great fury: but they ſtill continued to ſtand their ground [x], and terrible havock was made amongſt them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but likewiſe by the cannon, which were loaded with grape ſhot, and being very ably ſerved, did great execution. The diſtance of 2400 paces between the two lines

[x] In a letter from a general officer in the Pruſſian army, who was preſent in this action, publiſhed in the London Magazine, (vol. XXVII. p. 487, 488,) are the following paſſages: 'Fifteen thouſand of the Ruſſians covered the field of battle; 'but while we thought ourſelves ſecure of victory, they were 'yet preparing to diſpute it.'—'The king's troops, far from 'being diſpirited by the fatigues of the day, thought of nothing 'but ſignalizing themſelves by their bravery. Animated more 'and more, they ſurmounted all difficulties, and at length 'overcame the obſtinacy of the enemy. The ſetting ſun termi-'nated to our advantage the laſt maſſacre, by a ſhower of bul-'lets, and an attack with the bayonet fixed at the end of the 'muſquet. Then the great ſuperiority of the enemies only 'ſerved to augment their loſs.'—'One might wonder at the 'diſproportion of the loſs on both ſides, had we not obſerved, 'that the enemy's artillery was ſo ill ſerved, that the balls went 'ten or twelve feet over our heads, only a few cannon, charged 'with cartridge ſhot, did ſome execution againſt us.'—'They 'give us more trouble in killing, than in overcoming them; 'for a ſhot through the body is not ſufficient to make them 'leave off fighting, unleſs the vital parts are touched.'

of

of the Ruſſian right wing, together with the duſt and ſmoke, alſo hindered the Ruſſians from diſtinguiſhing between their own men and the Pruſſians; ſo that great numbers of the Ruſſians were killed by their own men [137]. In this confuſion ſome of them plundered their own baggage, intoxicated themſelves with brandy, and mutinied againſt their officers. Towards evening the confuſion among them increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they would probably have been entirely routed, but one of the Ruſſian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turn againſt them, rallied a ſelect body of troops, and made a vigorous impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſians. This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtrongly to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſians enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt on the right. The action laſted more than ten hours, and the ſlaughter of the Ruſſians was great; for the Pruſſians were much exaſperated againſt them, on account of the ravages which they had committed in their country; and they are alſo ſaid to have received orders to give the Ruſſians no quarter [138].

THE king of Pruſſia remained the whole night, with his army, upon the field of battle, and took

[137] Letter from a Swediſh officer, who ſerved in the Ruſſian army, to general Hamilton, publiſhed in the Grand Magazine, vol. I. p. 589.

[138] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 75.

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the neceſſary meaſures to improve the advantage that he had obtained. The next morning, he again advanced towards the enemy, and the cannonading was renewed. But it did not laſt long; for the Ruſſians were obliged to continue their retreat, abandoning their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards [139]. Frederick gave them no time to recover themſelves, but cauſed them to be harraſſed on all ſides during the whole day, and a great carnage enſued. In the evening, the king cauſed his infantry to encamp, but ordered his cavalry and huſſars to continue to purſue and harraſs the enemy. The Ruſſians afterwards encamped themſelves advantageouſly three leagues from the field of battle, where they continued till the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and then retreated towards Poland, by Lanſberg, after ſetting fire to the greateſt part of their baggage [140].

THE loſs of the Ruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, in the battle of ZORNDORFF, and in their ſubſequent retreat, amounted to more than twenty thouſand; while that of the Pruſſians did not much exceed two thouſand, including ſome officers of diſtinction, particularly two aids du camp, who attended the perſon of the king, which he had expoſed to all the dangers of the day. It is ſaid, that Frederick often expoſed himſelf to ſo

[139] London Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 470, from the London Gazette Extraordinary of Sept. 8, 1758.

[140] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 341.

much danger in his battles, that even the common soldiers sometimes exclaimed against it, and endeavoured to prevent it; calling out to him, "If "your majesty is lost, we are all lost of course[141]." Besides the military trophies, which were taken from the Russians in the battle of Zorndorff, the Prussians also made themselves masters of more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and of the Russian military chest, which contained nine hundred thousand rubles[142]. The king had a high sense of the importance of general Seidlitz's services in this action; and when the British minister, Mr. Mitchel, complimented him upon his victory, saying, "Heaven has granted to your majesty ano-"ther glorious day," Frederick replied, "Without Seidlitz, it would have been a gloomy "one[143]." CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

IMMEDIATELY after the battle, general Fermor, who was slightly wounded in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days, to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded. He also presented to his Prussian majesty the request of general Brown [Y], who was

[141] Anecdotes and characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 25, 26.

[142] London Mag. ut supra, from the London Gazette.

[143] Anecdotes and characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 141.

[Y] General Brown, who was second in command in the Russian army, was a Scotsman; and general Fermor, who had the chief command, was of Scottish extraction.

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wounded, and much weakened by the loſs of blood, that he might have a paſſport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place, where he ſhould find ſuch accommodation as his ſituation required. Count Dohna returned an anſwer to the Ruſſian general, in which he acquainted him, that as the king his maſter had gained the battle, and remained maſter of the field, he would not fail to give the neceſſary orders for burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both ſides. A ſuſpenſion of arms was declined, but the requeſt of general Brown was granted; and the count concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Ruſſian troops ſtill continued to commit, in plundering and burning the Pruſſian villages. In the courſe of this campaign, the Coſſacks are ſaid to have been guilty of great cruelties, killing many of the inhabitants of the towns and villages, ſetting fire to their houſes, and committing rapes upon their wives and daughters.

WHEN the king came to Cuſtrin, he ſeemed much affected with the ruinous appearance of the city; and he ſaid to ſome of the inhabitants, "My "children, I could not come ſooner, or this miſ-"fortune ſhould not have happened: have but "patience, and I will cauſe every thing to be re-"built." The perſon who had been commandant at Cuſtrin, when the Ruſſians firſt came there, was underſtood not to have adopted the proper meaſures for the defence of the place. He was ſuperſeded;

ſuperſeded; but when the king came to Cuſtrin, he preſented himſelf before him, and endeavoured to apologize for his conduct. The king coolly replied: "I make no complaints againſt you: it "is myſelf who was chiefly to blame, in appoint- "ing you to ſuch an office." CHAP. XXVI. A. D. 1758.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*The king of Pruſſia, having defeated the Ruſſians at Zorndorff, marches into Luſatia.—He is ſurprized by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of mareſchal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobreſchutz, and afterwards marches into Sileſia, and raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs, and that of Coſel.—Mareſchal Daun beſieges Dreſden, and part of the ſuburbs deſtroyed by the Pruſſian governor.—The king marches into Saxony, and raiſes the ſiege of Dreſden.—Military operations of the Swedes.—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of Leipſic.—Military operations in the electorate of Hanover, and in Weſtphalia.*

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IT was no ſooner known by the Auſtrians, that the king of Pruſſia had quitted Bohemia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, than mareſchal Daun, at the head of the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, marched towards the Elbe, with a view of ſurrounding the king's brother, prince Henry, and with the hope of making themſelves maſters of Saxony. Mareſchal Daun arrived with his army at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe; and by ſtationing himſelf there, he preſerved to himſelf an eaſy communication with the army of the empire. He was alſo thereby enabled to interrupt the communication between Bautzen and Dreſden,

Dreſden, and to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the confines of Brandenburgh. When the duke de Deuxponts had entered Saxony, he made himſelf maſter of the fortreſs of Koningſtein, and took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Pirna. Prince Henry, who diſplayed the talents of a very able general, had alſo encamped himſelf in a moſt advantageous manner at Dippoldiſwalda, ſo as to cover Dreſden, and command the courſe of the Elbe; but, from the number of his enemies, his ſituation neceſſarily became extremely critical.

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*The king of Pruſſia, having defeated the Ruſſians at Zorndorff, marches into Luſatia.—He is ſurprized by count Daun at Hochkirchen.—Death of mareſchal Keith.—Frederick encamps at Dobreſchutz, and afterwards marches into Sileſia, and raiſes the ſiege of Neiſs, and that of Coſel.—Mareſchal Daun beſieges Dreſden, and part of the ſuburbs deſtroyed by the Pruſſian governor.—The king marches into Saxony, and raiſes the ſiege of Dreſden.—Military operations of the Swedes.—Rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of Leipſic.—Military operations in the electorate of Hanover, and in Weſtphalia.*

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IT was no ſooner known by the Auſtrians, that the king of Pruſſia had quitted Bohemia, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, than mareſchal Daun, at the head of the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, marched towards the Elbe, with a view of ſurrounding the king's brother, prince Henry, and with the hope of making themſelves maſters of Saxony. Mareſchal Daun arrived with his army at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe; and by ſtationing himſelf there, he preſerved to himſelf an eaſy communication with the army of the empire. He was alſo thereby enabled to interrupt the communication between Bautzen and Dreſden,

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this quarter about four in the morning, on the fourteenth of October, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury. For notwithſtanding the impetuous efforts of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who, with extraordinary expedition and preſence of mind, aſſembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence [146]. While the action was obſtinately and deſperately maintained in this place, amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs, carnage, and confuſion, the king exerted all his perſonal activity, ſagacity, and military ſkill, in drawing regularity from diſorder, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, ſtrengthening weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy [147].

THOUGH the Auſtrians made their chief attack upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, yet mareſchal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king of Pruſſia, made another attack upon the left, which was ſuſtained with difficulty, and

'their arms. In the midſt of the confuſion, which was increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, ſome thouſands of the Pruſſians paſſed from ſleep to death, and many were killed by their own countrymen. But, at the break of day, the Auſtrians met with a very ſtrong reſiſtance.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 82, 83.

[146] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 337. [147] Id. ibid.

effectually

effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where mareſchal Keith oppoſed the enemy with the utmoſt gallantry, under the greateſt diſadvantages. At nine in the morning, that able general, who had before been wounded, received a ſecond wound, which put an end to his life [B]. Prince Francis of Brunſwick alſo had

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[B] Dr. Smollett ſays, that 'Field-mareſchal Keith, who 'arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, diſ-'approved of the ſituation of the Pruſſian army, and remon-'ſtrated to the king on that ſubject. In conſequence of his 'advice, a certain general was ſent with a detachment to take 'poſſeſſion of the heights that commanded the village of Hoch-'kirchen; but by ſome fatality he miſcarried. Mareſchal 'Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of 'Brunſwick, in a houſe belonging to a Saxon major. When 'the firſt alarm was given in the night, he inſtantly mounted 'his horſe, aſſembled a body of the neareſt troops, and march-'ed directly to the place that was attacked. The Auſtrians 'had taken poſſeſſion of the hill, which the Pruſſian officer was 'ſent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon. Then 'they made themſelves maſters of the village, in which the free 'companies of Anginelli had been poſted. Mareſchal Keith 'immediately conceived the deſign of the Auſtrian general, and 'knowing the importance of the place, thither directed all his 'efforts. He in perſon led on the troops to the attack of the 'village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being over-'powered by numbers continually pouring down from the 'hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn. He rallied his 'men, returned to the charge, and regained poſſeſſion of the 'place. Being again repulſed by freſh reinforcements of the 'enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third 'time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be ſet on fire.

'Thus

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had his head ſhot off by a cannon ball, as he mounted his horſe; prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner; and many other officers were either killed or diſabled. The Auſtrians continued to proſecute their attack with

'Thus he kept the Auſtrians at bay, and maintained a deſperate 'conflict againſt the flower of the Auſtrian army, from four in 'the morning till nine, when the Pruſſians were formed, and 'began to file off in their retreat. During the whole diſpute he 'rallied the troops in perſon, charged at their head, and ex-'poſed his life in the hotteſt of a dreadful fire, like a private 'captain of grenadiers. He found it neceſſary to exert himſelf 'in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the con-'fuſion that prevailed, and in order to inſpirit the troops to 'their utmoſt exertion by his voice, preſence, and example. 'Even when dangerouſly wounded, at eight in the morning, 'he refuſed to quit the field; but continued to ſignalize himſelf 'in the midſt of the carnage until nine, when he received a 'ſecond ſhot in his breaſt, and fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of 'Mr. Tibay, an Engliſh volunteer, who had attended him 'during the whole campaign.' The body of the mareſchal was afterwards 'ſtripped by the Auſtrian ſtragglers, and lay ex-'poſed and undiſtinguiſhed on the field of battle. 'In this ſitua-'tion it was perceived by count Laſci, ſon of the general of 'that name, with whom mareſchal Keith had ſerved in Ruſſia. 'This young count had been the mareſchal's pupil, and revered 'him as his military father, though employed in the Auſtrian 'ſervice. He recognized the body by the large ſcar of a 'dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his 'thigh at the ſiege of Oczakow, and could not help burſting 'into tears to ſee his honoured maſter thus extended at his feet, 'a naked, lifeleſs, and deſerted corpſe. He forthwith cauſed 'the body to be covered and interred.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 339, 340.

ſucceſſive

ſucceſſive reinforcements, and redoubled reſolution; ſo that, at about ten in the morning, Frederick found himſelf obliged to retreat to Dobreſchutz, about half a league from the field of battle. But though the Pruſſian troops had never been properly drawn up in order, and were embarraſſed by their tents, which continued ſtanding during the whole action, the king's retreat was performed in good order, under the cover of a great fire from the Pruſſian artillery, which on this occaſion was placed in the center of his van [148]. The Auſtrians, however, took part of the king's baggage, all his tents, ſome military trophies, and many pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Pruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to ſeven thouſand; and the loſs of the Auſtrians is ſaid to have been not much inferior. Frederick himſelf was ſlightly wounded in the action [149]; and he ſuſtained a great loſs in the death of mareſchal Keith [c], who had very diſtinguiſhed

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[148] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 348.

[149] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, ut ſupra, p. 83.

[c] JAMES KEITH, who was the younger ſon of George Keith, earl-marſhal of Scotland, was born in that kingdom, in the year 1698. He was initiated in the Latin language by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, well known for his excellent Rudiments of the Latin tongue; and was afterwards removed to the Mariſchal college at Aberdeen, which was founded by one of his anceſtors. He was ſeventeen years of age at the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland in 1715, in which he joined with his brother, the earl-marſhal, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir, being obliged to relinquiſh his country, he followed his brother into,

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distinguished military talents, and for whom he had a great personal esteem and regard.

THOUGH

into Spain, and obtained a commission in the Irish brigade in that kingdom, then commanded by the duke of Ormond. In this situation he continued ten years, when finding no opportunity of distinguishing himself, he obtained recommendations to Catharine I. empress of Russia, who received him with marks of particular favour, and gave him a commission of brigadier-general. He was afterwards made a major-general; and, in 1734, was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and went with the Russian troops into Germany. In 1737, he served against the Turks, and distinguished himself greatly at the taking of Oczakow, where he was wounded. On the return of peace, the empress Anne sent him to the court of London, as her ambassador extraordinary. But when he appeared at court, he was obliged to assume the appearance of a Russian, both in dress and language; for king George II. would not permit him to speak at an audience without an interpreter. When he had finished his embassy, he returned again to Petersburgh, where he was greatly caressed by the czarina. In 1741, and 1742, he commanded the Russian troops against the Swedes, and gained the battle of Wilmanstrand; and also dispossessed the Swedes of the isle of Aland in the Baltick.

After the peace of Abo, in 1743, he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a successor to the crown. But the splendour in which he appeared on this occasion at Stockholm greatly reduced his finances; and he was even obliged to pawn his jewels, to keep up the dignity of his appearance. On his return to Russia, he was honoured with a mareschal's staff; but finding the pay of that country not sufficient to support his rank, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Prussia to enter into his service. In 1747, he quitted the Russian service, and entered into that of Prussia, as field-mareschal; and in 1749, he was made a knight

of

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THOUGH the king of Prussia had been surprized at HOCHKIRCHEN, in a manner so sudden and so unexpected, and though his loss had been considerable, yet the manner, in which he conducted himself on this occasion, afforded a new display of his abilities. His troops had been surprized and attacked in a dark night, and by superior numbers; and when they had recourse to their arms, they were almost naked, and in the utmost confusion; but they had notwithstanding made a most vigorous resistance, and maintained the fight for near five hours. The king himself exhibited uncommon generalship, as well as the utmost intrepidity; and he conducted his retreat in admirable order, and without being pursued by the enemy.

THE surprize of the king of Prussia at Hochkirchen was made a great subject of triumph at Vienna; and it even afforded no inconsiderable

of the order of the black eagle, and governor of Berlin, with a pension of 12,000 dollars, besides his pay. He greatly distinguished himself in the Prussian service, in the campaigns of 1756, 1757, and 1758; but being killed at the battle of Hochkirchen, he was decently buried by the curate of that village. His body was afterwards removed to Berlin, by order of the king of Prussia, and interred with great funeral honours; and a statue was likewise erected to his memory in that city.

General Lloyd says of mareschal Keith, that "he was middle-sized, had a very martial countenance, and was a humane "and benevolent man;" and count Algarotti says, that "he "had studied his profession with the judgment and penetration "of an Englishman; and that "in the midst of arms, he "always found means to cultivate letters."

degree

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degree of ſatisfaction to the then pope, Clement XIII. who had been much pleaſed with the union between the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon, which he thought might be beneficial to the intereſts of the Catholic religion. He, therefore, ſent his bleſſing to mareſchal Daun, together with a ſword and a hat, on both of which he alſo beſtowed his benediction. Theſe marks of favour from his holineſs to the Auſtrian general were a ſubject of much pleaſantry to the Pruſſian monarch; who afterwards frequently ſtiled Daun "the bleſſed "general," and "the man with the papal cap."

AFTER his ſurprize at Hochkirchen, Frederick remained with his army ten days at Dobreſchutz, during which he endeavoured to bring the Auſtrians to a ſecond engagement; but this, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs, was declined by mareſchal Daun, who kept his forces advantageouſly poſted on eminencies planted with artillery. In the mean time, the Auſtrian generals, Harſche and de Ville, had formed the ſiege of Neiſs, and the blockade of Coſel; and as the king could not bring count Daun to an action, he reſolved to march immediately to the relief of Sileſia. Committing, therefore, the care of Saxony to his brother prince Henry, he quitted his camp at Dobreſchutz, and marched to Gorlitz, without the leaſt interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Sileſia with his uſual rapidity, notwithſtanding all the activity of general Laudohn, who, with a corps

a corps of twenty-four thouſand men, continually harraſſed his rear-guard. Count Daun not only ſent this detached corps to retard the king in his march, but, at the ſame time, by another route, detached a ſtrong reinforcement to the army of the beſiegers. Frederick, however, on his arrival at Neiſs, obliged the Auſtrians to raiſe the ſiege, leaving a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores behind them. He alſo compelled the Auſtrians to abandon the blockade of Coſel; and the armies, under the generals Harſche and de Ville, fell back into Bohemia.

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In the mean time, count Daun having received intelligence, that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was conſiderably weakened, by detachments that had been ſent to the king, he himſelf marched thither, hoping, in the abſence of Frederick, to be able to drive the prince out of that country. He had formed, indeed, deſigns which were ſtill more extenſive; for he propoſed to reduce Dreſden, Leipſic, and Torgau at the ſame time. The firſt, with the main body under his own direction; the ſecond, by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick. In execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he paſſed at Pirna, and on the ſixth of November he appeared within ſight of Dreſden, at the head of ſixty thouſand men. He encamped the next day at Lockowitz, and the day following

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his advanced troops attacked the Pruſſian huſſars and independent battalions, which were poſted at Streiſſen and Gruene-Wieſe.

COUNT Schmettau, who commanded the Pruſſian garriſon, amounting to ten thouſand men, being apprehenſive, that the Auſtrian troops might enter the ſuburbs, he poſted colonel Itzenplitz, with ſeven hundred men, in the redoubts that ſurrounded the ſuburbs, that in caſe of emergency they might ſupport the irregulars. But as the houſes that conſtituted the ſuburbs were generally ſo high as to overlook the ramparts, and command the city, he prepared combuſtibles, and gave notice to the magiſtrates, that they would be ſet on fire, as ſoon as a ſingle Auſtrian ſhould appear within the place. This was a very alarming declaration to the inhabitants of theſe ſuburbs, which compoſed one of the moſt elegant towns in Europe. In theſe houſes, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the faſhionable and wealthy claſs of people reſided; and here a number of artiſts carried on a variety of curious manufactures. The magiſtrates beſought the forbearance of the Pruſſian governor, and repreſented, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they ſhould be exempted from the horrors of devaſtation. Such of the royal family as ſtill remained at Dreſden, alſo joined their ſupplications to thoſe of the magiſtrates; and they implored him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and to allow at leaſt a

ſecure reſidence to thoſe, who had been deprived of every thing elſe. But all entreaties were in vain. Count Schmettau told them, that their ſafety depended on mareſchal Daun; that if he made no attempts, the ſuburbs would be ſtill ſecure; but that if he took any farther ſteps, the neceſſity of his maſter's ſervice, and his own honour, would compel him to act in a manner that was very contrary to the lenity of his own diſpoſition.

ON the ninth of the month, about noon, the Auſtrian vanguard attacked the advanced poſt of the garriſon, repelled the huſſars, drove the independent battalions into the ſuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governor expecting a vigorous attack the next day, gave orders for ſetting fire to a part of the ſuburbs, which was executed at three in the morning. More than two hundred and ſixty houſes were reduced to aſhes; a few perſons alſo loſt their lives, and many their whole ſubſtance [D]. Mareſchal Daun remonſtrated againſt

[D] An account of this conflagration, with ſome conſiderable exaggerations, was preſented by the Saxon miniſter to the diet of the empire. This piece was printed; but it was afterwards proved, that ſeveral of the facts ſtated in it were not true; and theſe exaggerations of the Saxon miniſter furniſhed the Pruſſian miniſters with a plauſible pretext, for exclaiming againſt the means, which, they ſaid, were employed "to "blacken the Pruſſian cauſe." It was the more impolitic in the Saxon miniſter to publiſh any miſrepreſentations upon the ſubject, as the conduct of the king of Pruſſia reſpecting Saxony certainly required no exaggeration.

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the Pruſſian governor's conduct in this tranſaction; but he maintained, that he was juſtified in his conduct by the laws of war [E]; that he had orders to defend the town to the laſt extremity; and that if the Auſtrian general ſhould think proper farther to attack the place, he would defend himſelf from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from houſe to houſe, and would even make his laſt effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city.

THE conduct of the Pruſſian governor, as well as of his royal maſter, reſpecting this tranſaction, has been vindicated by ſeveral writers. If the ſuburbs had not been conſumed, there would, it is ſaid, have been danger, that the Auſtrians might have taken Dreſden from the king of Pruſſia. It ſhould, however, have been remembered, that

[E] Dr. Smollett ſays, that the Pruſſian governor 'excuſed 'the deſtruction of the ſuburbs as a neceſſary meaſure, autho-'rized by the practice of war; but he would have found it a 'difficult taſk to reconcile this ſtep to the laws of eternal 'juſtice, and far leſs to the dictates of common humanity. In-'deed, if the ſcene had happened in an enemy's country, or if 'no other ſtep could have ſaved the lives and liberties of himſelf 'and his garriſon, ſuch a deſperate remedy might have ſtood 'excuſed by the law of nature and of nations; but on this 'occaſion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could 'exerciſe no other power and authority but that which he 'derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all 'reduced to the neceſſity of ſacrificing the place to his own 'ſafety, inaſmuch as he might have retired unmoleſted, by 'virtue of an honourable capitulation, which however he did 'not demand.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 343.

Dreſden

Dreſden [F] did not belong to the king of Pruſſia, and that he had obtained poſſeſſion of it only by violence

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[F] The city of DRESDEN has never recovered from what it ſuffered during this war, in conſequence of the invaſion of the king of Pruſſia, and his bombardment of it, after it was taken poſſeſſion of by the army of the empire. Dr. Burney ſays, 'During the reign of Auguſtus III. this city was regarded by 'the reſt of Europe as the Athens of modern times. All the 'arts, but particularly thoſe of muſic, poetry, and painting, 'were loved and cheriſhed by that prince, with a zeal and 'munificence, greater than can be found in the brighteſt period 'of antient hiſtory. But, perhaps, ſome part of the late and 'preſent diſtreſſes of this country, have originated in this ex-'ceſſive magnificence. The gardens of the late miniſter, count 'Bruhl, which are ſituated on the banks of the Elbe, and open 'to the public, command a delightful proſpect of that river, of 'its hilly and fertile banks, towards Pirna, and of the new 'town, and beautiful bridge, leading to it. A moſt magnifi-'cent and elegant temple in theſe gardens was reduced to a 'heap of rubbiſh, in which it ſtill lies, during the Pruſſian 'bombardment; and the Saxons accuſe his Pruſſian majeſty of 'carrying perſonal reſentment againſt their miniſter ſo far, as 'to order his engineer to point his artillery at the temple and 'other buildings, as well as ſtatues in theſe gardens. However 'this may have been, not a ſtreet of this once charming city 'has recovered the devaſtations of the laſt war.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 59, 60, 61. edit. 1775.

In another place the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of Dreſden, ſays, 'Every one here is in the utmoſt indigence.—'Moſt of the nobility and gentry are too much impoveriſhed, 'to be able to afford to learn, or to let their children learn 'muſic. The Saxons of old, ſo remarkable for patience, in-'duſtry, and probity, are now reduced to knavery and chicane, 'beyond the inhabitants of any other country. Dreſden is at

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violence and by injuſtice. He could, therefore, have no right to conſume the houſes of the inhabitants, or to reduce them to indigence and miſery, in order to anſwer a temporary purpoſe to himſelf. But, in many other inſtances, what are called the laws of war have been repeatedly urged, in vindication of acts of unneceſſary and wanton barbarity; though if it be neceſſary that wars ſhould be continued among mankind, and if it be proper that there ſhould be LAWS OF WAR, it might notwithſtanding be hoped, that, in an enlightened age, even theſe LAWS would undergo ſome reviſion, and be rendered more conſonant to common ſenſe, and common humanity.

'preſent a melancholy reſidence: from being the ſeat of the 'Muſes, and habitation of pleaſure, it is now only a dwelling 'for beggary, theft, and wretchedneſs. No ſociety among 'the natives can be ſupported; all muſt retrench; the court is 'obliged to abandon genius and talents, and is, in turn, 'abandoned by them. Except the wretched comic opera, there 'is no one ſpectacle, but that of miſery, to be ſeen at Dreſden; 'no *guinguette*, no public diverſion in the city or ſuburbs, for 'the people, and not a boat or veſſel, either of pleaſure or 'buſineſs, can be deſcried on the river Elbe, which is here 'nearly as wide as the Thames at London-bridge.' Ibid. p. 58.

Dr. Burney alſo ſays of LEIPSIC, that 'this city has not 'yet recovered its rigorous treatment during the laſt war; and 'its celebrated fair, which uſed to be the rendezvous of the 'rich, the gay, and the induſtrious citizens of every quarter 'of the globe, as well as an aſſembly of the ſovereign princes 'and nobility of all the northern parts of Europe, ſeems now 'dwindled into a common mart, or quarterly fair, ſuch as is 'held in a ſmall Engliſh market town.' Ibid. p. 72.

WHEN

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WHEN the king of Pruſſia had raiſed the ſieges of Neiſs and Coſel, he immediately marched back again into Saxony. At his approach, count Daun raiſed the ſiege of Dreſden, where Frederick arrived on the twentieth of November, and expreſſed his approbation of the conduct of count Schmettau. The prince of Deuxponts alſo raiſed the ſiege of Leipſic, and both he and mareſchal Daun retired with their forces into Bohemia. The Auſtrian general, Haddick, was alſo obliged to abandon the ſiege of Torgau; as the Ruſſians likewiſe were that of Colberg, in Pruſſian Pomerania, which they had inveſted in the courſe of their retreat, after the battle of Zorndorff. So that, by the extraordinary activity of the king of Pruſſia, and his generals, ſix ſieges were raiſed nearly at the ſame time; that of Neiſs, of Coſel, of Dreſden, of Leipſic, of Torgau, and of Colberg [150].

THE Swedes, in the courſe of this year, had recovered Swediſh Pomerania, and even made incurſions into the Pruſſian territories. Their general, count Hamilton, had advanced as far as Fehrbellin, and ſent out parties that raiſed contributions within twenty-five miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into great conſternation. General Wedel was thereupon ſent by the king from Dreſden to Berlin, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Swedes; and having aſſembled eleven thouſand men, he proceeded at the head of

[150] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 62.

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them againſt the Swediſh general; while the prince of Bevern, with five thouſand, advanced on the other ſide from Stettin. At their approach, the Swediſh commander retired, after having left a garriſon of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes diſputed the ground from houſe to houſe with great reſolution, he at laſt drove them out of the town, with the loſs of one half their number, either killed or taken priſoners. After this, the body of the Swediſh army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and retired to the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

DR. Smollett, ſpeaking of the military operations of Frederick, during the campaign of the year 1758, makes the following obſervations: 'The variety of fortune which the king of Pruſſia 'experienced in the courſe of this campaign was 'very remarkable; but the ſpirit of his conduct, 'and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether 'without example. In the former campaign, we 'were dazzled with the luſtre of his victories; in 'this, we admire his fortitude and ſkill in ſtem-'ming the different torrents of adverſity, and 'riſing ſuperior to his evil fortune. One can 'hardly without aſtoniſhment recollect, that in the 'courſe of a few months he invaded Moravia, in-'veſted Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquiſh

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'that deſign; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harraſſed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in ſpite of his diſaſter at Olmutz, and the difficulties of ſuch a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningſgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Ruſſians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Auſtrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he loſt two of his beſt generals, and was obliged to leave his tents ſtanding, he baffled the vigilance and ſuperior number of the victorious army, ruſhed like a whirlwind to the relief of Sileſia, invaded by an Auſtrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the ſame rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more reſcued it from the hands of his adverſaries; that, in one campaign, he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his poſſeſſions entire againſt the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of conſummate ſkill, and undaunted reſolution [151].'

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FROM the beginning of the preſent war, Frederick had treated the inhabitants of Saxony with

[151] Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 347.

great

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great injuſtice and inhumanity; and he now made the acts of cruelty and violence, which had been committed in his dominions by the Ruſſians, a pretence for increaſing the oppreſſions of the Saxons, and augmenting his exactions. On the twenty-ſecond of September, M. Borck, preſident of the Pruſſian military directory, ſent a letter to the magiſtrates of Leipſic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one third part, on pain of military execution. In anſwer to this demand the magiſtrates repreſented, that the city having been exhauſted by the enormous contributions before raiſed, was abſolutely incapable of furniſhing farther ſupplies; and that the trade of the city was ſo ruined, and the inhabitants ſo impoveriſhed, that they could not even pay the ordinary taxes. But this remonſtrance made no impreſſion. On the twenty-fourth of the month, at five in the morning, the Pruſſian ſoldiers aſſembled, and were poſted in all the ſtreets, ſquares, and market-places of the city. The gates were afterwards ſhut, in order to exclude the populace of the ſuburbs from the city; and the ſenators were brought into the town-hall, and accoſted by general Hauſs, who told them, that the king his maſter would have money; and, if they refuſed to part with it, the city ſhould be plundered. The magiſtrates replied, "We have no more money; we have no-

"thing

" thing left but life; and we recommend ourſelves " to the king's mercy." In conſequence of this declaration, diſpoſitions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in the ſtreets, and the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors; but the apprehended pillage was converted into a regular exaction. A party of ſoldiers, commanded by a ſubaltern, went from houſe to houſe, ſignifying to every burgher that he ſhould produce all his ſpecie, on pain of immediate pillage and maſſacre; and the inhabitants accordingly delivered up their money. About ſix in the evening, the ſoldiers returned to their quarters; but the magiſtrates were ſtill continued for ſome time in confinement [152].

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On the ſecond of December following, the Pruſſian directory of war ſent a decree to the deputies of the ſtates of Saxony, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage; and alſo acquainting them, " That though the king of Pruſſia had " hitherto treated the electorate of Saxony as a " country which he had taken under his ſpecial " protection, the face of affairs was now changed " in ſuch a manner, that his majeſty would conſi- " der it, for the future, only as a conquered " country, out of which he had driven his enemies " by force of arms [153]." The Ruſſians had ſeized

[152] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 347, 348. London Magazine, vol. XXVII. p. 521, 522.

[153] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 388.

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in Pruſſia the eſtates and effects belonging to the Pruſſian officers; and a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. All the revenues of the Saxon miniſters were ſequeſtered; and they were themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw in twenty-four hours. Freſh contributions were required of the inhabitants of Leipſic; and the king cauſed the exchange of that city to be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and the merchants to be confined in narrow lodgings on ſtraw beds, till they were obliged, by their ſufferings, to draw bills for large ſums on their foreign correſpondents [154]: a ſpecies of oppreſſion and tyranny, of which Frederick appears to have been the inventor [G].

SUCH

[154] Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 64. Entick, p. 388, 389. Smollett, p. 349.

[G] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of the conduct of the king of Pruſſia on this occaſion, ſays, that it was 'much more ſuitable 'to the deſpotiſm of a Perſian ſophi towards a conquered 'people who profeſſed a different faith, than reconcileable to 'the character of a Proteſtant prince towards a peaceable nation 'of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties 'of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as 'declared enemies, and been ſubdued with arms in their hands, 'the exceſſes of war on the ſide of the conqueror ought to have 'ceaſed with the hoſtilities of the conquered, who, by ſubmitting to his ſway, would have become his ſubjects, and in that 'capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon 'the Saxons, who had eſpouſed no quarrel, the barbarities 'committed by the Ruſſians, with whom he was actually at 'war, and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, 'which

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SUCH was the treatment which the inhabitants of Saxony received from the king of Pruſſia, who had declared, in the moſt ſolemn manner, when he entered their country, that he did it with no hoſtile views againſt his Poliſh majeſty, or againſt his dominions; that his troops entered not Saxony as enemies; and that he marched them into it only for his own ſafety, and that of his dominions. It has been pretended, that Frederick's treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony was juſtified by the neceſſity of his affairs. But it is certain, that no neceſſity ſubſiſted which could juſtify ſuch conduct as that which he exhibited; and whatever neceſſity there was, had been created by himſelf, and cannot, therefore, be juſtly urged in extenuation of his conduct.

IN the courſe of this year, Frederick alſo laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution; and hav-

' which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged ' to evacuate by force of arms, was a ſpecies of conduct found- ' ed on pretences, which overturn all right, and confound all ' reaſon.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 349, 350.

Dr. Smollett, though, in ſundry parts of his hiſtory, he has manifeſted himſelf to be a very exceptionable hiſtorian, has yet made many juſt remarks on the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, into whoſe tranſactions he has entered ſomewhat more copiouſly, than might naturally have been expected in a Hiſtory of England. He ſeems to have thought, that as the people of England paid ſo much for their connexion with the king of Pruſſia, they had the better claim to accurate information reſpecting his tranſactions.

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ing received information, that the duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only ſecured the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke himſelf was obliged to retire to Lubeck. This prince afterwards preſented a memorial by his miniſter to the diet at Ratiſbon, in which he ſtated, that the Pruſſians had ravaged his country, and diſtreſſed it by grievous extortions; and that they had demanded ſuch quantities of proviſions, ſuch exorbitant ſums of money, and ſo many recruits, that his territories were greatly impoveriſhed, and almoſt depopulated by theſe oppreſſions [H].

EARLY in the preſent year, the Hanoverian troops under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who was reinforced by a body of Pruſ-

[H] In a piece publiſhed about this time, by the court of France, is the following paſſage: 'The Pruſſians have entered 'the territories of the duke of Mecklenburgh ſword in hand, 'without any reaſon, and in contempt of the public peace. 'The duke they have obliged to ſeek refuge at Lubeck; they 'have taken poſſeſſion of the fortreſſes; and by deſpotic orders, 'without any payment, have cauſed themſelves to be ſupplied 'with the corn and forage. The young men have been forced 'away from their parents, to enliſt them, and make them fight 'againſt their own ſovereign. In a word, without the ſlighteſt 'complaint againſt the duke of Mecklenburgh, his duchy is 'treated by the Pruſſians like a conquered country.' Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 206.

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fian horſe, had great ſucceſs againſt the French in the electorate of Hanover. They puſhed the French from poſt to poſt, and obliged them to evacuate ſucceſſively Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden. The town and caſtle of Hoya, on the Weſer, where the French attempted to make a ſtand, were alſo reduced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick; while his uncle, prince Ferdinand, recovered the city of Minden, on the ſame river, and made priſoners a garriſon of four thouſand men [155]. An Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of commodore Holmes, alſo compelled the French to abandon Embden, a ſea-port in East Frieſland, which they had taken from the king of Pruſſia.

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THE duke de Richelieu, who had commanded the French troops in Germany, was now recalled from thence, and his place ſupplied by the count de Clermont, much to the ſatisfaction of the Hanoverians, among whom Richelieu was charged with having committed many acts of rapine and oppreſſion. The new general found the French army greatly reduced, by the accidents of war, and diſeaſes occaſioned by hard duty, ſevere weather, and the want of neceſſaries [1]. As he could not, therefore,

[155] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 304.

[1] In a letter written by a gentleman at Zell to his friend at London, dated March 9, 1758, which was publiſhed by Mr. Entick, is the following paſſage: "The French ſent, laſt year,

"119,000

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therefore, prevent prince Ferdinand from executing his deſigns, nor even maintain the footing which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, the French troops retreated from their diſtant quarters with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind them all their ſick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers, who fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued. The inhabitants of Hanover, finding that the French intended to abandon that city, were apprehenſive of being ſubjected to violence and inſult; but they were happily diſappointed by the benevolent behaviour of the duke de Randan, the French governor. This amiable nobleman, when he had orders to evacuate the place, inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, ordered the whole to be either ſold, at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city. He alſo employed all his vigilance to prevent his ſoldiers from committing any act of irregularity or violence, and was himſelf the laſt man that marched out of the town. So meritorious was his conduct, that he received a letter of thanks for it

" 119,000 men from France, and now they have not 46,000 " left. The reſt died in the hoſpitals, or fell in battles and " ſkirmiſhes." Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 134.

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from the regency of Hanover; and when a day of thankſgiving was appointed, on account of their being delivered from their enemies, the Hanoverian clergy particularly celebrated in their ſermons the benevolence and generoſity of the duke de Randan [156].

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THE French army having paſſed the Rhine, prince Ferdinand alſo paſſed that river, attacked the count de Clermont at Crevelt, and obliged him to retire under the cannon of Cologn, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men, and many officers of diſtinction. Prince Ferdinand ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Duſſeldorff, and afterwards put his army into winter-quarters, in the biſhoprics of Munſter, Paderborn, and Hildeſheim [157]. His army had been previouſly joined by a body of Britiſh troops, who had landed at Embden; but they arrived too late to have any opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field, during that campaign; and their commander, the duke of Marlborough, died ſoon after of a dyſentery at Munſter.

ON the ſeventh of December, 1758, the third treaty between Great Britain and Pruſſia was concluded at London, by which his Britannick majeſty agreed to pay to the king of Pruſſia a ſecond

[156] Smollett, p. 311, 312. Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 35, 36. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra.

[157] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 307—310.

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ſubſidy of 670,000l. ſterling, to be paid in one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications. It was again ſtipulated, that neither party ſhould conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or other convention, but by common advice, and mutual conſent.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Frederick ſends a body of troops into Poland, and deſtroys the magazines of the Ruſſians in that country. —The magazines of the Auſtrians, in Bohemia, alſo deſtroyed by prince Henry of Pruſſia.—Manifeſtoes publiſhed by count Dohna, on his entering Poland, at the head of a Pruſſian army.—Battle of Zulichau.—Battle of Kunerſdorff.—General Finck ſurrounded, and taken priſoner, with near fifteen thouſand Pruſſians under his command, at Maxen.—Military operations of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick.—Declaration of their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties to the ſeveral belligerent powers.—Frederick's declaration relative to the removal of his priſoners to Spandau.*

THE king of Pruſſia had found the Ruſſians an enemy ſo extremely formidable, that he thought it neceſſary to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, to impede their progreſs, and to prevent the ſucceſs of their operations againſt him. He was particularly attentive to cutting off their means of ſubſiſtence; and accordingly having received information, that large magazines had been erected for their uſe in Poland, he detached, about the middle of February, 1759, forty-ſix ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions, under general Woberſnow, from Glogau in Sileſia, who entered Poland, and

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deſtroyed ſeveral immenſe magazines belonging to the Ruſſians. One in particular, which was at Poſna, and which was guarded by two thouſand Coſſacks, is ſaid to have contained as much flour, as would have fed fifty thouſand men for three months [158]. In this expedition, the Pruſſians alſo attacked the caſtle of prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, who had intereſted himſelf againſt the king of Pruſſia, compelled him to ſurrender, and carried him and his garriſon priſoners into Sileſia [K]. They alſo loaded three hundred waggons with proviſions and forage, which he had collected for the Ruſſians [159].

[158] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 454, 455.

[K] In one of the accounts publiſhed of this tranſaction, it is ſaid, that 'the Pruſſians raiſed contributions as far as Poſna, 'that they deſtroyed the Ruſſian magazines, and carried off by 'force from his eſtates prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, and 'conveyed him as a priſoner to Glogau, with his guard, which 'conſiſted of two hundred men. His crime was, that he was 'ſuſpected of having raiſed theſe two hundred men for the 'Ruſſian army.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93. Prince Sulkowſki, as a Pole, had as much right to act againſt the king of Pruſſia, as for him; and the rather, as his own prince, the king of Poland, was in alliance with the Ruſſians, and had been driven out of his electoral dominions by the Pruſſian monarch. The conduct of Frederick, therefore, in conveying in ſuch a manner out of his own country, and from his own eſtates, a man of high rank, whoſe only crime was having attached himſelf to the cauſe of his own ſovereign, appears to have been in a very high degree unjuſt, oppreſſive, and tyrannical.

[159] Id. ibid.

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ABOUT the latter end of March Frederick himſelf aſſembled his army at Rhonſtock, near Striegau, and advancing to the neighbourhood of Landſhut, in Sileſia, encamped at Bolchenhayn. In the mean time, the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Daun, aſſembled at Munchengratz, in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of the Auſtrian general Beck, who ſurprized and made priſoners a battalion of Pruſſian grenadiers, poſted under colonel Duringſheven, at Greiffenberg, on the frontiers of Sileſia. But this advantage, gained by the Auſtrians, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and ſucceſs of prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded the army which had wintered in Saxony. In the month of April, he marched in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the paſs of Peterſwalde, deſtroyed a magazine of the Auſtrians at Auſſig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, ſeized the proviſions and forage which they had collected at Loboſchutz and Leutmeritz, and demoliſhed a new bridge which they had erected for their own convenience. At the ſame time, general Hulſen attacked the paſs of Paſsberg, which was guarded by the Auſtrian general Renard, who was taken by the Pruſſians, with two thouſand men, including fifty officers [160]. One of the Auſtrian magazines, which was deſtroyed by the Pruſſians, was at Budin, where the

[160] Smollett's Hiſt. of England, from the Revolution, vol. V. p. 95, 96.

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flames ſpread, and reduced the town to aſhes; though prince Henry is ſaid to have done all in his power to extinguiſh the fire [161].

THE Pruſſians having now filled Bohemia with alarm and conſternation, raiſed heavy contributions in the country, and made great deſtruction of the Auſtrian magazines [L], prince Henry returned to Saxony, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. But they were again put in motion in a few days, and marched to Obelgeburgen; from whence prince Henry continued his route through Voightland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country by the way of Hoff, on the ſeventh of May, and next day ſent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialiſts at Aſch, and who ſuſtained the charge with great courage; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retired in the night towards Egra. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince de Deuxponts, retreated, as the Pruſſians advanced, and abandoned the rich biſhoprics of Bamberg and Wurtzburg to contri-

[161] Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

[L] The Pruſſians are ſaid to have deſtroyed, in the Auſtrian magazines, in this expedition, 35,486 tons of meal; 37,400 loaves of bread, of 4lb. weight each; 136,820 Berlin meaſures of oats; and 86,300 rations of hay, of 8lb. weight each. Entick, ut ſupra, p. 459.

bution.

bution. The town of Bamberg surrendered upon terms; but some confusion happening before the capitulation was completed, a party of Croats fired upon a party of Prussians, who had advanced towards one of the gates. This was resented as an infringement of the capitulation, and was made a pretence for plundering the place. It was given up to pillage, by order of the Prussian commanders, for two days, in a very cruel and licentious manner; and the conduct of the Prussians, in this transaction, was loudly and justly censured throughout Europe [164]. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

In the beginning of the month of June, the king of Prussia having received information, that the Russians, notwithstanding the destruction of their magazines, had begun their march from the Vistula, ordered the several bodies of his troops, under the generals Hülsen and Woberznow, to join the forces under count Dohna, and to march into Poland [M]. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz,

[164] Annual Register, vol. II. p. 10. Entick, ut supra, p. 460.

[M] One of the king of Prussia's biographers, speaking of this march of the Prussian troops into Poland, says, 'It is astonishing to find in Europe, in the middle of the eighteenth century, 'a state, whose dominions are more extensive than those of 'France or of Germany, yet so destitute of forces, and of the 'means of defence, as to suffer its neighbours to enter the provinces of it at their pleasure; and that a single general, at the 'head of a few regiments, can support himself in it as long as 'he

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Meritz, where the Pruſſian general publiſhed the following manifeſto:

'His Pruſſian majeſty, finding himſelf under a 'neceſſity to cauſe part of his armies to enter the 'territories of the republic of Poland, in order to 'protect them againſt the threatened invaſion of 'the enemy, declares, that it muſt not be under-'ſtood that his majeſty, by this ſtep taken, intends 'to make any breach in the regard, which he has 'always had for the illuſtrious republic of Poland, 'or to leſſen the good underſtanding which has 'hitherto ſubſiſted between them, but, on the 'contrary, to ſtrengthen the ſame, in expectation 'that the illuſtrious republic will, on its part, act 'with the like neighbourly and friendly good will 'as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing 'more is deſired.

'The nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy, in their 'reſpective diſtricts, between the frontiers of Pruſſia, 'ſo far as beyond Poſna, are required to furniſh 'all kinds of proviſions, corn, and forage, neceſ-'ſary to ſupport an army of forty thouſand men, 'with the utmoſt diſpatch, with an aſſurance of 'being paid ready money for the ſame. But if, 'contrary to expectation, any deficiency ſhould 'happen in ſupplying this demand, his majeſty's 'troops will be obliged to forage, and uſe the

'he thinks proper; or, at leaſt, till the general of ſome other 'power comes and drives him out.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 93.

'same means as those taken by the enemy for their subsistence. In confidence, therefore, that the 'several jurisdictions upon the Prussian frontiers, 'within the territories of Poland, will exert themselves to comply with this demand as soon as 'possible, for the subsistence of the royal army of 'Prussia, they are assured, that thereby all disorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered 'will be paid for in ready money.'

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Two days after, count Dohna published the following declaration: 'It was with the greatest 'astonishment, that the king, my most gracious 'lord and master, heard that several of his own 'subjects had suffered themselves to be seduced 'from their allegiance so far, as to enter into the 'service of a potentate with whom he is at war. 'His majesty, therefore, makes known by these 'presents, that all of his subjects serving in the 'enemy's armies, who shall be taken with arms 'in their hands, shall, agreeably to all laws, be 'sentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors 'to their king and country.'

A few days after, the Prussian general also published the following manifesto: 'We invite and 'desire, that the nobility, archbishops, bishops, 'abbeys, convents, seignories, magistrates, and 'inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the 'road to Posnania, and beyond it, would repair in 'person, or by deputies, in the course of this 'week, or as soon after as possible, to the Prussian 'head-

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'head-quarters, there to treat with the commander 'in chief, or the commiſſary at war, for the deli- 'very of forage and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence 'of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

'We promiſe and aſſure ourſelves, that no per- 'ſon in Poland will attempt to ſeduce the Pruſſian 'troops to deſert; that no aſſiſtance will be given 'them in ſuch perfidious practices; that they will 'neither be ſheltered, concealed, nor lodged; 'which would be followed by very diſagreeable 'conſequences. We expect, on the contrary, that 'perſons of all ranks and conditions will ſtop any 'runaway or deſerter, and deliver him up at the 'firſt advanced poſt, or at the head-quarters; and 'all expences attending the ſame ſhall be paid, 'and a reaſonable gratification ſuperadded.

'If any one hath an inclination to enter into the 'king of Pruſſia's ſervice, with an intention to be- 'have well and faithfully, he may apply to the 'head quarters, and be aſſured of a capitulation 'for three or four years.

'If any prince, or member of the republic of 'Poland, be diſpoſed to aſſemble a body of men; 'and to join in a troop, or in a company, the 'Pruſſian army, to make a common cauſe with 'it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and 'that due regard will be ſhewn to his merit [163].'

FROM Meritz count Dohna continued his march towards Poſna, where he found the Ruſſian army,

[163] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 231, 232, 233.

4 which

which was now under the command of count Soltikow, ſtrongly encamped, having in their rear that city, and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable entrenchment, mounted with a great number of cannon. In this ſituation, count Dohna judged it to be impracticable to attack them, with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He, therefore, contented himſelf with watching their motions, and endeavouring to intercept their convoys to the eaſtward: but, for want of proviſions, was, in a ſhort time, obliged to return himſelf towards the Oder. The Ruſſians then advanced towards Zulichau, in Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia now began to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of his general, count Dohna. He, therefore, ſuperſeded him, and conferred the command on Wedel, who was lately advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general. Count Dohna appears to have been a brave, and a ſkilful officer; but the king thought him ſomewhat too cautious; and, indeed, he ſeems not to have been quite ſo ready as his royal maſter, to ſacrifice the lives of his men, when there was little proſpect of obtaining any advantage.

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General Wedel, who was now inveſted with the command, received poſitive orders from the king, at all events, to engage the Ruſſians. They had arrived at ZULICHAU, and intended to proceed from thence to Croſſen in Sileſia, in order to get before the Pruſſian army, and to make good the paſſage of the Oder. The Ruſſian army amount-

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ed to seventy thousand men, and the Prussians did not exceed thirty thousand. General Wedel, however, attacked the Russians, with great vigour, at KAY, near ZULICHAU, on the twenty-third of July. But, after a very obstinate engagement, the Prussians were repulsed with the loss of near eight thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the Russians was also very considerable. On the side of the Prussians, general Woberšnow, an officer of great merit, was killed, and general Manteuffel was wounded.

AFTER the battle of Zulichau, the Russians made themselves masters of the town of Crossen. They afterwards penetrated far into the Prussian territories, and took possession of Franckfort upon the Oder. The king of Prussia had been employed, for a considerable time, in watching the motions of mareschal Daun; but he now resolved to march himself in person to oppose the progress of the Russians; and this he judged to be the more necessary, in order to prevent a junction between them and the Austrians. Accordingly he set out from his camp in Silesia, with a select body of ten thousand men, in order to take upon him the command of general Wedel's army, leaving the rest of his forces strongly encamped, under the command of his brother prince Henry. Mareschal Daun, being apprized of Frederick's intention, and knowing the Russians to be very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thousand horse

horſe to join them, under the command of general Laudohn; and theſe, penetrating through Sileſia and Luſatia, though not without ſome loſs, arrived in the Ruſſian camp at this very critical juncture [164]. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

THE king of Pruſſia joined general Wedel at Muhlroſe, where he aſſumed the command of the army; but finding it greatly inferior to that of the Ruſſians, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached ſome time before, with a body of nine thouſand men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony. But, even with this reinforcement, the Pruſſian army did not quite amount to fifty thouſand men, while that of the Ruſſians, ſince the junction of general Laudohn, was not much leſs than ninety thouſand. They had choſen a ſtrong camp, at the village of KUNERSDORFF, almoſt oppoſite to Franckfort upon the Oder; and they had increaſed the natural ſtrength of their ſituation by entrenchments, planted with a numerous train of artillery. Notwithſtanding theſe accumulated diſadvantages, the king of Pruſſia determined to hazard an attack.

THE Pruſſian army being formed in a wood, advanced towards the Ruſſians, on the twelfth of Auguſt; and, at eleven in the forenoon, the action was begun with a ſevere cannonade. This having produced the deſired effect, the king of Pruſſia charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with his

[164] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 100. Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

beſt

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beſt troops formed in columns. After a very obſtinate conteſt, the Ruſſian intrenchments were forced with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. A narrow defile was afterwards paſſed, and ſeveral redoubts, that covered the village of KUNERSDORFF, were taken by aſſault. At that village, the Ruſſians made a firm ſtand; but they were overborne by the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, who drove them from poſt to poſt, up to the laſt redoubt which they had to defend. The Ruſſians, however, kept their ground, till they were hewn down in their ranks; and this ſucceſs, therefore, was not obtained by the Pruſſians, but with infinite labour, and at a great expence of blood.

AFTER a furious engagement of ſix hours, fortune ſeemed to declare ſo much in favour of the Pruſſians, that the king diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have "driven the Ruſſians from their intrenchments, "In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." But this intimation was premature. The Ruſſians, though ſtaggered, and broken, were not routed. Count Soltikow found, that his left wing, though ſhattered, was more entire than any other part of his army. He, therefore, aſſembled the remains of his right, and gathering as many as he could from the center, reinforced his left wing, and made a ſtand at a redoubt, which had been erected on an advantageous eminence, called "the Jews bury-

"ing-

" ing-ground." Here the Ruſſians again ſtood in order of battle, with the moſt reſolute countenance, favoured by the ſituation, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, and now rendered almoſt impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery. It is ſaid, that the Pruſſian generals were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be imprudent at that time to puſh any farther the advantages which they had obtained. They repreſented to the king, that their adverſaries were ſtill very numerous, and their artillery conſiderable; that the poſt which they occupied was of great ſtrength; that his brave troops, who had been engaged for ſo long a time, in one of the ſevereſt actions ever known, and in one of the hotteſt days that was ever felt, were too much exhauſted for a new attempt, and an attempt of ſuch extreme difficulty; that the advantage he had already gained would be as deciſive in its conſequences as that of Zorndorff; and that the enemy would be obliged immediately to retire into Poland, and to leave him at liberty to act in other quarters, where his preſence was equally neceſſary [165].

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THESE reaſons were forcible, and at firſt ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion upon the king; but, in a few moments, he reſolved to make another effort, and again put all to the hazard. His infantry, ſtill reſolute, and animated by their late ſucceſs, were led on to a new attack. But the enterprize was beyond their ſtrength. The ſituation of the Ruſ-

[165] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

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ſians was impregnable; and their artillery repulſed the Pruſſian battalions with great ſlaughter. The Pruſſian infantry, however, were brought to a ſecond attack, and were a ſecond time repulſed, and with ſtill greater loſs. The cavalry then ſucceeded to the attack, and repeated their unſucceſsful efforts, till they were almoſt broken, and entirely exhauſted.

AT this critical juncture, the whole body of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian cavalry, under general Laudohn, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore freſh, and in ſpirits, fell in among the Pruſſian horſe with great fury, broke their line at the firſt charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into ſuch diſorder as could not be repaired. The Pruſſian army being thus involved in confuſion, was ſoon after totally defeated, notwithſtanding the perſonal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hotteſt parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, had two horſes killed under him, and his clothes in ſeveral places penetrated with muſquet-balls [N]. His army being routed, and general Seidlitz,

[N] Dr. Smollett, ſpeaking of this battle, ſays, 'It muſt 'be owned, that if the king was prodigal of his own perſon, 'he was likewiſe very free with the lives of his ſubjects. At no 'time, ſince the days of ignorance and barbarity, were the 'lives of men ſquandered away with ſuch profuſion, as in the 'courſe of this German war. They were not only unneceſ-'ſarily ſacrificed in various exploits of no conſequence, but 'laviſhly

Seidlitz, and moſt of his other generals, being diſabled by wounds, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon the field of battle [o]; and he then diſpatched another billet to the queen, containing theſe words: "Remove from Berlin with the "royal family. Let the archives be carried to "Potſdam. The town may make conditions with "the enemy [166]." CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

'laviſhly expoſed to all the rigour and diſtemper of winter-'campaigns, which were introduced on the continent, in de-'ſpite of nature, and in contempt of humanity. Such are the 'improvements of warriors without feeling! ſuch the refine-'ments of German diſcipline!' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, p. 103, 104.

Voltaire alſo, after giving ſome account of the battles which were fought in Germany at this period, ſays, 'What was the 'reſult of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even 'the recital, at this day, is tedious to thoſe who there ſignalized 'themſelves? What remains after ſo many battles? Nothing, 'but blood ſpilt to no purpoſe in uncultivated and ruined 'countries, villages deſtroyed, and families reduced to beg-'gary.' Age of Lewis XV. ch. 33.

[o] The king is ſaid to have been much aſſiſted in his retreat by general Finck, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, in which he was wounded. Captain Tielke ſays, that 'Gene-'ral Finck diſplayed ſuch zeal, knowledge, and capacity, in 'collecting the troops, forming them again, repairing the diſ-'order, and covering the retreat of the army, that the king 'told him, he would be a ſecond Turenne.' Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Ruſſians, &c. tranſlated from the German, by the captains Charles and Robert Crawfurd, vol. I. p. 210.

[166] Annual Regiſter, and Smollett, ut ſupra.

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THE night, and the prudent uſe of ſome eminences, which were defended as well as the circumſtances would admit, preſerved the Pruſſian army from total ruin. But their loſs, in the battle of KUNERSDORFF, was greater than in any other action from the commencement of the war. They loſt all their cannon; and the number of their killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to near twenty thouſand. General Putkammer was killed; and the lieutenant-generals Seidlitz, Finck, Wedel, Hulſen, and Itzenplitz, were among the wounded; as was alſo the prince of Wirtemberg, and five major-generals. Among the wounded officers of inferior rank, was major Kleiſt, who is eſteemed one of the beſt German poets. He had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, and died of his wounds a few days after. The loſs of the Ruſſians was alſo ſo great, that count Soltikow is reported to have ſaid, after the action, "If I ſhould gain ſuch "another victory, I may go alone, with my "truncheon in my hand, to carry the news to "Peterſburgh [167]."

THE Pruſſian troops, early in the morning after the action, returned to the camp which they had occupied before, about two leagues from the field of battle. In a letter, ſaid to be written by a Pruſſian officer of diſtinction, who was preſent in the action, is the following paſſage: 'I ſaw the 'king, the morning after the battle, ſtretched upon

[167] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 99.

'a little

'a little straw, reposing among the ruins of a farm-
'house, which had been destroyed by the Cossacks.
'He slept, with as much soundness and tranqui-
'lity, as if he had been in the securest place. His
'hat covered half his face, and his sword drawn lay
'by his side. Two adjutants were at his feet,
'sleeping on the ground. A single grenadier stood
'sentinel. This monarch seems to have sleep and
'repose in his own power, as well as presence of
'mind. As soon as he is out of the reach of arms,
'the idea of his own superiority, and his confidence
'in his own good fortune, so take possession of
'him, that he no longer sees any danger; but
'delivers himself up to repose with as much secu-
'rity, as if the enemy were at twenty leagues
'distance [168].'

THE day after the battle of Kunersdorff, about four in the afternoon, the king repassed the Oder, and encamped at Retwin. He was apprehensive, that the Russians would have immediately proceeded to Brandenburgh; but they were not very active in making the most of the victory that they had obtained; and he himself soon removed from Retwin to Fustenwalde, and stationed himself in such a manner, that they did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. In a few days after his defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He

[168] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, tom. II. p. 98, 99. Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 44, 45.

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had re-aſſembled and refreſhed his broken troops; he had furniſhed his camp with cannon from the arſenal at Berlin; and he recalled general Kleiſt, whom he had ſent with five thouſand men into Pomerania. He watched the motions of the Ruſſian army ſo aſſiduouſly, that count Soltikow, inſtead of entering Brandenburgh, marched into Luſatia. There he joined the grand Auſtrian army, under mareſchal Daun; and the two generals held conſultations together concerning their future operations [169].

FREDERICK never appeared greater, than after any remarkable adverſe ſtroke of fortune. In ſuch caſes, he generally excited the aſtoniſhment of mankind, by the celerity with which he recovered his loſſes, by the wonderful reſources of his genius, and the unconquerable fortitude of his ſpirit. After the battle of Kunerſdorff, when his friends, as well as his enemies, were of opinion, that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies united had only to determine what part of his dominions they choſe firſt to ſubdue, as a prelude to the conqueſt of the whole, he obliged both to act on the defenſive; and, at the ſame time, detached a body of ſix thouſand men, under general Wunſch, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony [170].

[169] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

[170] Ibid. p. 345.

DURING

DURING the time that the king had been employed againſt the Ruſſians, the army of the empire had entered into Saxony, and made themſelves maſters of Halle, Wittemberg, Leipſic, and Torgau; and ſoon after Dreſden alſo ſurrendered to the Imperialiſts. But the detachment under general Wunſch retook Leipſic on the twenty-firſt of September; and having joined general Finck, who was ſent with another body of troops into Saxony, theſe Pruſſian generals repulſed the army of the empire at Corbitz, though ſupported by a body of Auſtrians under general Haddick, and recovered every place in that electorate except Dreſden [171]. Prince Henry of Pruſſia now quitted a camp which he had occupied, at Hornſdorff, near Gorlitz, in Luſatia, and marched with extraordinary celerity into Saxony, where he joined the generals Finck and Wunſch. This rapid march obliged count Daun alſo to quit his camp in Luſatia, and to ſeparate his army from that of count Soltikow, in order to protect Dreſden. After the Auſtrian and Ruſſian armies were thus ſeparated, the king found, that it was the intention of the Ruſſians to beſiege Great Glogau; but he took poſt between them and that city in ſuch a manner, as totally to fruſtrate their deſign; and they ſoon after retired into Poland. They appear to have been much diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and they received an offer of money from the court of Vienna; but to this

[171] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 344.

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offer count Soltikow replied, "My ſoldiers do not "eat money [172]."

By the retreat of the Ruſſians into Poland, the king of Pruſſia finding himſelf diſengaged from a very formidable enemy, marched immediately into Saxony, and there joined his brother prince Henry, near Torgau, on the ſecond of November, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Auſtrian generals. On this junction the army of the empire retired, and mareſchal Daun retreated towards Dreſden, as well to cover that city, as to keep open his communication with Bohemia. The whole Auſtrian cavalry was poſted in the plain between Plauen and Dreſden; the right wing extending to the ſuburb of that city, and the left wing to the village. As this advantageous poſition made an attack upon the Auſtrian army almoſt impracticable, the king endeavoured to oblige mareſchal Daun to quit it, and to retire towards Bohemia, by rendering his communication with that country very difficult, and cutting off his means of ſubſiſtence. To this end he ſent colonel Kleiſt with a body of light troops into Bohemia, who deſtroyed many magazines, and levied conſiderable contributions [173].

SHORTLY after, Frederick detached lieutenant-general Finck, with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five ſquadrons, to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of

[172] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 102.

[173] Tielke's Account of ſome of the moſt remarkable events of the War between the Pruſſians, &c. ut ſupra, p. 4, 5.

Maxen

Maxen and Ottendorf, with a view to hinder the retreat of the Auſtrians into Bohemia. But the Pruſſian general had no ſooner taken poſt upon the heights near the village of MAXEN, than mareſchal Daun ſent officers to reconnoitre his ſituation, and immediately reſolved to attack him with the corps de reſerve under the baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippoldiſwalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Pruſſians had no apprehenſion of the approach of the Auſtrians, till they ſaw themſelves almoſt entirely ſurrounded. In this emergency, they defended themſelves with their cannon and muſquetry till they were overpowered by numbers, and their batteries were taken. Then they retired to another riſing ground, where they rallied, but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their laſt retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time, count Daun had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that at day-break general Finck found himſelf ſo completely encloſed, that he conceived no poſſibility of eſcape remained for him. He endeavoured, though ineffectually, to obtain terms; and at length general Finck himſelf, eight major-generals, and all his troops, amounting to near fifteen thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. Upwards of ſixty pieces of cannon, forty-four ammunition waggons, twenty-four ſtandards, and

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and ninety-six pair of colours, also fell into the hands of the Austrians on this occasion.

GENERAL Finck was esteemed a brave and a skilful officer; but in this transaction he seems to have been deficient either in judgment or in vigilance [P]. General Hulsen had been detached, with

[P] Some writers have supposed, that the king of Prussia himself was chiefly to blame in this business; by detaching so numerous a body of troops to a situation, where they could not be sustained by the rest of his army. But, on this subject, the captains C. and R. Crawfurd have made the following remarks, in their notes on Tielke's "Account of some of the most remarkable events of the War between the Prussians," &c. p. 13, 14. 'Although many people may with justice deem it a fault 'in the king, that he did not immediately post a considerable 'corps at Dippoldiswalda, exclusive of general Finck's corps, 'yet every person, who is acquainted with the country, and 'has any knowledge of the military art, must behold with 'admiration the boldness and justness of the king's manœuvre, 'in detaching general Finck to Maxen: a manœuvre, which 'deserves as much to be admired as any of the other great 'actions of this consummate general; and which, had it been 'as well executed as conceived, would have been attended with 'the most important and brilliant success. For had general 'Finck maintained his post till general Hulsen arrived, (which 'he could have done by occupying the ground properly) 'mareschal Daun would then have been unable to drive the 'Prussians from the neighbourhood of Maxen; and, as by this 'position they would have entirely cut off his communication 'with Bohemia on that side, and have rendered the famous 'camp of Plauen almost, if not absolutely untenable, he would 'have been obliged to make a precipitate retreat over the Elbe 'by Dresden, and probably to have retired to Bohemia by that 'route, with the greatest part of his army. That the event of 'this

with nine battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, to his assistance; but he arrived at Klingenberg too late to be of any ſervice; and, being recalled, was ſent the next day to occupy the important poſt of Freyberg. General Finck was afterwards tried by a court-martial, who ſentenced him to two years impriſonment. After he was releaſed from his confinement, he went as a general of infantry into the Daniſh ſervice, and was in that ſituation when he died. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

THE affair of Maxen was not the only diſaſter which befel the king of Pruſſia at the cloſe of this campaign. General Diercke, who was poſted with ſeven battalions of infantry, and a thouſand horſe, on the right bank of the Elbe, oppoſite to Meiſſen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons acroſs the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to tranſport his troops in boats; and when all were paſſed, except himſelf, with the rear-guard, conſiſting of three battalions, he was attacked, on the morning of the third of December, by a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obſtinate conteſt [174]. By theſe ſucceſſive misfortunes, the force of the king of

'this expedition is to be attributed to the faults committed on 'the part of the Pruſſians, is moſt certain; but the deciſive 'fault was in the execution, not in the deſign. The chief 'perſon to be blamed, as we think, was general Finck, not 'the king.'

[174] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 108.

Pruſſia

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Pruſſia was greatly weakened; but he received a very ſeaſonable reinforcement of twelve thouſand troops, under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. They had been detached to his relief by prince Ferdinand; and that they might join him as ſoon as poſſible, they had marched near three hundred miles in fifteen days [175]. They joined the king at Freyberg; and, notwithſtanding his late loſſes, mareſchal Daun ſtill thought him ſo formidable, that he made no new attempt againſt him, but contented himſelf with quietly occupying the ſtrong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to ſuccour Dreſden, in caſe it ſhould be attacked, and alſo maintain his communication with Bohemia; and Frederick ſoon after put his forces into winter quarters [Q] at Freyberg.

[175] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 50.

[Q] The extreme ſeverity of the weather rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that the troops of the king of Pruſſia, as well as of his enemies, ſhould go into winter quarters. 'A 'winter remarkably ſevere ſucceeded the bloody campaign of '1759. At Bareith, in the night of the 16th of December, 'the cold was inſupportable. Reaumur's thermometer was 'ſunk to 15, which is preciſely the ſame degree it fell to in '1709, a year like this diſtinguiſhed by the intenſeneſs of the 'cold, and the fury of war. Birds dropped dead in their 'flight. At Leipſic ten ſentinels were frozen to death. An 'infectious diſeaſe, which began in the armies, diffuſed itſelf 'among the inhabitants of SAXONY, and made a dreadful 'havock. A peſtilential contagion raged among the cattle. 'Famine was ſoon added to the reſt of their calamities; and

Freyberg. But before that event had taken place, a body of his troops, under the command of general Manteuffel, had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages againſt the Swedes in Pomerania. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

AT the beginning of the preſent year, the French, by a breach of faith, had made themſelves maſters of Franckfort upon the Maine, a free and neutral city. This was an important acquiſition, as it ſecured to them the courſe of the Maine, and the Upper Rhine [176], by which they received every ſpecies of ſupply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the country of Alſace; and it alſo maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Auſtrian forces, and the army of the empire. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick conſidered it as of much conſequence to diſlodge them from this poſt; and, therefore, determined to attempt it, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit his troops to take the field. The Hanoverian army which he commanded, had been augmented by German recruits, and ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements from England. He aſſembled his troops in the neighbourhood of Fulda in the month of April, 1759, and began his march towards Franckfort at the head of thirty thouſand men, having left the reſt of his forces to guard the electorate of Hanover, and protect the

'every miſery that can afflict mankind, was poured out upon 'that unfortunate people, with the moſt liberal meaſure,' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 9, 10.

[176] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 335.

biſhopric

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biſhopric of Munſter. He found the French army, under the duke de Broglio, ſtrongly poſted near the village of Bergen, between Franckfort and Hanau. As he had reſolved to attack it, he immediately drew up his forces in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. But, after three deſperate efforts to get poſſeſſion of the village, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of two thouſand men. Prince Ferdinand being thus defeated, the French ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Franckfort, and all the advantages which they derived from that ſituation. They received conſiderable reinforcements, and acquired in a ſhort ſpace ſuch a ſuperiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand to content himſelf with acting on the defenſive, for a long time after. As the French advanced, he found it neceſſary to retire; though he left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden, in order to retard the progreſs of the French generals. But Retberg was ſoon after ſurprized by the duke de Broglio; that general alſo took Minden by aſſault; and Munſter, though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, was reduced, after a ſhort ſiege [177]. It now appeared ſcarcely poſſible, to prevent the French from making themſelves a ſecond time maſters of his Britannick majeſty's German dominions. But, with the hope of preventing this, prince Ferdinand reſolved to hazard another action, and accordingly engaged the French army at the

[177] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 336.

battle of Minden, with a much inferior force, and gained a complete victory, on the first of August. He afterwards gained possession of Minden, Cassel, and Munster; and forced the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

On the ninth of November, 1759, the fourth treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was signed at London; by which it was agreed, that a third sum of 670,000l. sterling should be paid to his Prussian majesty, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications; and it was again stipulated between the two kings, 'not to conclude any treaty 'of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other con-'vention, or agreement whatsoever, with the powers 'who had taken part in the present war, but in 'concert, and by mutual consent, and expressly 'comprehending each other therein [178].' At these expensive Prussian treaties, many of the inhabitants of England now began to murmur; and, indeed, the real interests of Great Britain were, at the present period, much sacrificed to the king's personal predilection for his electorate of Hanover. The public money of the kingdom was squandered [R], with

[178] Gent. Mag. vol. XXIX. p. 609, 610.

[R] The king of Prussia himself was of opinion, that a part at least of the public money of England, which had been spent in Germany, was squandered away unnecessarily and improperly. In the preface to his *Histoire de mon Temps*, as published by count Hertzberg, is the following passage: 'On the one side I 'see the king of Spain, sovereign of the mines of Potosi, over-'whelmed

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with great profuſion, in ſubſidies to foreign princes [s], and in ſupport of the German war; from

'whelmed with debt in Europe; and on the other, the king of 'England, profuſely ſcattering with both hands thoſe guineas, 'which thirty years induſtry had accumulated in Great Britain, 'to ſupport the queen of Hungary and the Pragmatic ſanction.' Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 44.

[s] Among other German princes, to whom large ſums of the public money of England were voted, one was the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel. This prince, who, in time of war, was incapable of defending his own dominions, which were repeatedly taken poſſeſſion of by the French, lent his troops to Great Britain for a ſubſidy of more than three hundred thouſand pounds per annum. He was not, however, always very firm in his alliance with Great Britain. Mr. Entick ſays, that 'the 'landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel was a ſubſidiary ally, retained by a 'large penſion in time of peace, when his friendſhip could not 'avail; and whoſe enmity could never hurt Great Britain, but 'in ſuch conjunctures, when foreign or domeſtic quarrels or 'commotions ſhould require an auxiliary aid. But expecting, 'from appearances, (in 1758,) that the cauſe of Hanover was 'in a loſing condition, this mercenary ally, though a principal 'in the diſpute, and connected with Great Britain by the ties 'of ſolemn treaties, and of gratitude and honour, ſued to be 'enliſted into the ſervice of our common enemy.' Hiſt. of the War, vol. III. p. 120, 121.

In the year 1756, when apprehenſions were formed of a deſign in the French to invade Great Britain, a body of Heſſian troops were brought over into England; a meaſure which juſtly excited great diſcontent in a conſiderable part of the nation; and this diſcontent was increaſed by its being determined, that in caſe of any acts of violence being committed in the kingdom by theſe foreign mercenaries, they were not amenable to the laws of England. No apprehenſions of an invaſion could reconcile the

from which no adequate advantage [T] to Great Britain, or even to the electorate of Hanover, was procured, or could rationally have been expected. CHAP. XXVIII. A. D. 1759.

ON the fifth of December, 1759, duke Lewis of Brunſwick delivered to the miniſters of the

the nation to theſe foreign defenders. Indeed, the native force of Great Britain, its militia, and more eſpecially its navy, is fully equal to its own defence. Hiring foreign troops, therefore, for the defence of the nation, under whatever pretence, is a meaſure always diſhonourable and dangerous; and ſhould at all times, by the inhabitants of Great Britain, be firmly and zealouſly oppoſed.

[T] Dr. Smollett remarks, that 'the partizans of the miniſtry were at great pains to ſuggeſt and inculcate a belief, 'that the war in Germany was chiefly ſupported as a neceſſary 'DIVERSION in favour of Great Britain and her plantations, 'which would have been expoſed to inſult and invaſion, had 'not the enemy's forces been otherwiſe employed. But the 'abſurdity of this notion will at once appear to thoſe who conſider, that by this time Great Britain was ſole miſtreſs of the 'ſea; that the navy of France was almoſt ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguiſhed; that ſhe could not, 'with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, hazard any expedition of 'conſequence againſt Great Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with ſuch powerful navies 'belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the 'money annually ingulphed in the German vortex, had been 'employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and 'thoſe forces properly exerted, not a ſingle cruizer would have 'been able to ſtir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the Weſt Indies would have fallen an eaſy prey to the 'arms of Great Britain; and thus cut off from the reſources of 'commerce, ſhe muſt have been content to embrace ſuch terms 'of peace, as the victor ſhould have thought proper to preſcribe.' Hiſt. of England, ut ſupra, vol. IV. p. 214, 215.

ſeveral

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several belligerent powers, residing at the Hague, the following declaration, in the names of the kings of Great Britain and Prussia:

'Their Britannick and Prussian majesties, moved 'with compassion at the mischiefs which the war, 'that has been kindled for some years, has already 'occasioned, and must necessarily produce, would 'think themselves wanting to the duties of huma- 'nity, and particularly to their tender concern for 'the preservation and well-being of their respective 'kingdoms and subjects, if they neglected the 'proper means to put a stop to the progress of so 'severe a calamity, and to contribute to the re- 'establishment of public tranquility. In this view, 'and in order to manifest the purity of their in- 'tentions in this respect, their said majesties have 'determined to make the following declaration, 'viz.

'That they are ready to send plenipotentiaries 'to the place, which shall be thought most proper, 'in order there to treat, conjointly, of a solid and 'general peace, with those whom the belligerent 'parties shall think fit to authorize, on their parts, 'for the attaining so salutary an end [179].'

IN the course of this year, the king of Prussia was accused of barbarity, in issuing an order for removing all his prisoners from Berlin to Spandau. But this measure he endeavoured to justify, in a letter to his ministers at foreign courts, in which he

[179] Annual Register, vol. II. p. 267.

declared,

declared, that he had provided for all the officers, who were his priſoners of war, as well Swedes, as French and Auſtrians, and lately for the Ruſſians, the beſt accommodations, and every conveniency; having, for that end, permitted them to paſs the time of their captivity in his capital. But as ſome of them, he ſaid, "had groſsly abuſed the liberty "allowed them, by keeping up illicit correſpon-"dencies, and by other practices, with which he "could not avoid being offended," he had been obliged to remove them all to the town of Spandau. He deſired, however, that the town might not be confounded with the fortreſs of that name, from which it was entirely ſeparated; as in the town they would enjoy the ſame eaſe as at Berlin, but would be "more narrowly watched." His conduct, on this occaſion, he ſaid, was ſufficiently authorized, not only by the law of nations, but alſo by the example of his enemies; inaſmuch as the empreſs-queen had never ſuffered any of his officers, who had fallen into her hands, to reſide at Vienna; and the court of Ruſſia had ſent ſome of them as far as Kaſan [110].

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[110] Annual Regiſter, vol. II. p. 250.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Fredrick encamps his army between the Elbe and the Mulda.—His letter to king Staniſlaus.—Declarations relative to peace made by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Verſailles.—General Fouquet, with a large body of Pruſſians, defeated and taken by general Laudohn, at Landſhut.—Bombardment of Dreſden by the king of Pruſſia.—Memorial publiſhed on that occaſion by the king of Poland.—Bombardment of Breſlaw by general Laudohn.*

CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1759.

THE events of the year 1759 had been more adverſe to the king of Pruſſia, than any other from the commencement of the war. He had been greatly weakened by the defeat of his troops at Zulichau, by his own defeat at Kunerſdorff, by the affair of Maxen, and by other diſaſters. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, his enemies ſtill found him extremely formidable: he had put his troops into winter-quarters in Saxony; and though the Auſtrians were maſters of Dreſden, he yet kept poſſeſſion of almoſt every other part of that electorate. In the month of January, 1760, the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were cantoned ſo near each other, that daily ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. But early in the campaign, he withdrew his out-poſts from Freyberg, and drawing a chain of cantonments from the foreſt of Tharandt

Tharandt on his right to the Elbe, he took a moſt advantageous camp between that river and the Mulſa. This camp he fortified in every place that was acceſſible, and mounted the works with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By theſe means, he was enabled to maintain his ground againſt the grand Auſtrian army under mareſchal Daun, whoſe whole attention he engaged, and at the ſame time to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to his brother Henry, without expoſing himſelf to any danger. Prince Henry had aſſembled an army near Franckfort on the Oder, where he took various poſitions, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſians, and to protect Sileſia and the New Marche of Brandenburgh, which were threatened by different bodies of the enemy. General Fouquet had eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Glatz; and whilſt he covered Sileſia on that ſide, he kept up a communication with prince Henry, and was ſo poſted as to be able to ſend to, or to receive ſuccours from him, as either party ſhould happen to be preſſed [181].

CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

In conſequence of the advances towards a peace, which were made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, in their declaration delivered to the foreign miniſters at the Hague, which I have given in the preceding chapter, the king of Spain offered his beſt offices in quality of mediator; and when a

[181] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 380, 381. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13.

CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

congreſs was propoſed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negociation. King Staniſlaus [v] alſo wrote letters to their Britannick and Pruſſian majeſties, offering the city of Nancy for the ſame purpoſe; and from the king of Pruſſia he received the following anſwer:

'Sir, and brother,

'I received your majeſty's letter with a very 'ſincere pleaſure, and I ſhould certainly not have 'refuſed the offer which you make of the city of 'Nancy, if it had depended on me. Any nego- 'ciations that ſhould be carried on under your 'auſpices, could not fail to take a favourable and 'a happy turn. But your majeſty, perhaps, is 'already apprized, that the ſentiments of every 'body are not ſo pacific.

'The courts of Vienna and Ruſſia have refuſed, 'in an unprecedented manner, to enter into the 'meaſures propoſed by the king of Great Britain; 'and it is probable, that they will draw in the king 'of France to continue the war, from which they 'promiſe to themſelves all the advantages. They 'alone, therefore, will be the ſole cauſe of that 'effuſion of human blood, which their refuſal will 'occaſion. I ſhall not, however, be the leſs grate-

[v] STANISLAUS, who had been king of Poland, was afterwards obliged to abdicate the throne; but the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were conferred upon him, and he ſtill continued to enjoy the title of king. The city of NANCY is the capital of Lorraine.

'ful for the obliging offers that have been made by your majesty. If all sovereigns were as pacific, equitable, and just, as you are, the earth would not be exposed, as it is, to devastation, to ravages, to sword, and fire. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

'I am, with sentiments of the greatest esteem, and of the most sincere friendship,

'Sir, my brother,

*Freyberg, Feb. 8, 1760.* 'Your majesty's faithful brother,

'FREDERICK.'

In answer to the declarations in favour of peace, from the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, delivered to the foreign ministers at the Hague, memorials were also delivered from the courts of Vienna, Petersburgh, and Versailles, in which they declared, that they were "equally animated by the "desire of contributing to the re-establishment of "the public tranquility, on a solid and equitable "footing;" and "that his Catholic majesty having been pleased to offer his mediation in the "war, which had subsisted for some years between "France and England, and that war having nothing in common with that which the two empresses, with their allies, had carried on for some "years against the king of Prussia, his most "Christian majesty was ready to treat of his particular peace with England, through the good "offices of his Catholic majesty, whose mediation "he had a pleasure in accepting." It was farther added, that "as to the war which directly regard-

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" ed his Pruſſian majeſty, the empreſs-queen of " Hungary and Bohemia, the empreſs of all the " Ruſſias, and the moſt Chriſtian king, were diſ- " poſed to agree to the appointment of the congreſs " propoſed. But as, by virtue of their treaties, " they could not enter into any engagement relat- " ing to peace, but in conjunction with their allies, " it would be neceſſary, in order that they might " be enabled to explain themſelves definitively up- " on that ſubject, that their Britannick and Pruſ- " ſian majeſties ſhould previouſly be pleaſed to " cauſe their invitation to a congreſs to be made " to all the powers, that were directly engaged in " war againſt the king of Pruſſia; and particularly " to his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of " Saxony [u], and likewiſe to his majeſty the king " of Sweden, who ought ſpecifically to be invited " to the future congreſs [282]."

THE propoſal of appointing the king of Spain to be mediator between France and Great Britain,

[u] Voltaire, ſpeaking of the overtures relative to peace which were made at this time, ſays of the king of Pruſſia, 'He 'will cede nothing; and propoſes, in order to indemnify the 'elector of Saxony, that they ſhall give him Erfurth, which 'belongs to the elector of Mentz. He muſt always rob ſome- 'body: it is his way.' Memoires, p. 206, 207. Voltaire correſponded with Frederick concerning the propoſed terms of peace; and complains, that the king ſent his confidential letters to London, and endeavoured to ſow diſſenſion between the court of France and their allies.

[282] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 203, 204.

was

was not likely to be well received by the Engliſh miniſtry, as his Catholic majeſty could hardly be expected to be a very impartial mediator. As to the war between Great Britain and France, it had been attended with very diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs on the part of the former. Mr. PITT, who then preſided in the councils of England, though his conduct was cenſurable reſpecting the German war, yet had otherwiſe manifeſted the utmoſt integrity, and diſplayed all the talents of a truly great and illuſtrious miniſter. Under his direction, and animated by his ſpirit, his influence, and his energetic and commanding eloquence, the arms of Great Britain had been triumphant in every quarter of the world. The Britiſh conqueſts had been ſo numerous, and the national ſucceſs ſo great, that the adminiſtration of PITT will ever form one of the moſt ſplendid periods of the Britiſh annals [x]. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

THE

[x] To the ſplendour of Mr. PITT's adminiſtration even foreign writers have borne teſtimony. Count ALGAROTTI ſays, 'It is to PITT that England is indebted for that fine 'illumination, which was exhibited laſt year in a certain houſe 'in London, in which every quarter of the globe had its parti-'cular window decorated with an inſcription. The taking of 'Goree and Senegal for AFRICA; that of Surat for ASIA; the 'victories at Minden, Cadiz, and Quiberon, for EUROPE; 'the conqueſt of Cape Breton, of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. for 'AMERICA: an illumination that the Romans never could 'have made, for want of a window.'—'PITT ſketches all the 'outlines of the different operations, though he does not, per-'haps, finiſh the picture. He chuſes, however, perſons whom

CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

THE pacific declarations of the ſeveral belligerent powers did not produce any real effect, or prevent the

'he knows to be equal to the taſk. He gives ſcope to the abilities of an ANSON, a HAWKE, a BOSCAWEN, a SAUNDERS, a GRANBY, a WOLFE, a MURRAY, and an AMHERST; and does not ſuffer them to remain inactive or unemployed.'—'As inacceſſible to bribes as a Fabricius or a Curius, ſober, indefatigable, firm in his deſigns, vigorous in executing them, nervous in his language, attentive to no other object but the glory of his nation, which he conſiders as his own, he has arrived by honourable means to that degree of greatneſs, which is ſeldom attained without mean intrigues, and artifices at court. He is not much given to fineſſe in his political negociations: with a heart full of zeal for the public good, and a mind firmly directed towards it, he attends only to eſſentials, and follows the conciſe and concluſive method of the Romans. When called to the helm of ſtate, he found the treaty with Pruſſia already formed. His firſt public act was to ſend back the Heſſians and Hanoverians, and to raiſe in their room a national militia, for the defence of the kingdom.'—'Notwithſtanding that PITT ſent troops to the electorate of Hanover, Engliſh armaments appeared every day upon the coaſts of France. One would imagine, that under him the number of people was multiplied. He inſpired into all the noble thirſt of conqueſt and of glory. That rooted animoſity, which has always ſubſiſted between the ſailors and the ſoldiers, between the commanders by ſea and thoſe by land, he found means to convert into a laudable emulation, which ſhould moſt effectually ſerve their country.' Letters military and political, p. 120—131.

Monſ. LAURRAU, ſpeaking of the period of Mr. PITT's adminiſtration, ſays, 'Since the fall of Tyre and Carthage, the world has never ſeen a ſpectacle equal to that exhibited by ENGLAND towards the middle of this century. The ſeas were

covered

the continuance of hoſtilities. General Laudohn, with a ſtrong, but light and diſencumbered army, moved from a camp which he had occupied during the winter in Bohemia, and preſenting himſelf alternately on the ſide of Luſatia, and on the frontiers of Sileſia, threatened ſometimes to penetrate to Berlin, ſometimes by a bold ſtroke to effect a junction with the Ruſſians, and attack prince Henry, and ſometimes to ſit down before Glatz, Schweidnitz, or Breſlaw [181]. By theſe manœuvres he kept the Pruſſians in continual alarm, as they knew not on which ſide the ſtorm would fall. Having by ſeveral feints led general Fouquet to believe, that his intentions were againſt Schweidnitz, that general marched thither a conſiderable body of Pruſſian troops, and left Glatz uncovered. When Laudohn perceived, that this ſtratagem had ſucceeded, he immediately made uſe of another, and with equal ſucceſs. He took poſſeſſion of Landſhut, which he diſcovered a deſign of ſecuring, and left there a ſmall body of troops. Fouquet, alarmed at ſo unexpected a movement, quitted Schweidnitz with

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' covered with her veſſels; her victorious flag was hoiſted in ' every harbour of the univerſe. Commerce, ſubſervient to her ' laws, regularly paid, in her iſle, the tribute of all nations. ' Her intrepid ſailors, uniting fame with intereſt, with one ' hand poured forth the horn of plenty, and with the other ' raiſed her ſail, which covered the remainder of the globe.' Eloge de Frederick II. p. 18.

[181] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 13. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 381.

precipitation,

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precipitation, and drove the Auſtrians from Landſhut without difficulty; but, in the mean time, Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important paſſes, by which he was in ſome degree enabled to ſurround the corps of general Fouquet. The Pruſſian commander did every thing poſſible, in ſuch circumſtances, to defend himſelf againſt a ſuperior enemy. But all his efforts were ineffectual. The Auſtrians attacked his entrenchments, near LANDSHUT, with great fury, on the twenty-third of June. The Pruſſians defended themſelves very gallantly, and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made of the Auſtrians; but general Fouquet having received two wounds, and four thouſand of his troops being ſlain, the remainder of his army, amounting to ſeven thouſand, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war [184]. Fifty-eight pieces of artillery, and many military trophies, alſo fell into the hands of the Auſtrians; and general Laudohn ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Glatz, where there were more than one hundred braſs cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition.

ON the ſecond of July, the king himſelf having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding towards Sileſia, quitted his ſtrong camp on the frontiers of Saxony, and began his march in two columns through Luſatia. Count Daun no ſooner

[184] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, and Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

had

had advice of his march, than he alſo immediately moved, with the utmoſt expedition, at the head of his main army, towards Sileſia; leaving the army of the empire, and a body of troops under general Laſcy, to guard Saxony in his abſence. The two armies continued their route through Luſatia; that of the king a little to the northward, and that of mareſchal Daun to the ſouthward; both apparently puſhing towards the ſame object. But when the king was apprized, that count Daun had gained full two days march upon him; that he had actually arrived at Gorlitz, and was puſhing by forced marches to Lauban; he immediately wheeled into the oppoſite direction, repaſſed the Spree near Bautzen, and whilſt he was ſuppoſed to be on the frontiers of Sileſia, ſuddenly and unexpectedly appeared before Dreſden, on the thirteenth of the month. The army of the empire retired, and the corps under the command of count Laſcy changed its ſituation. CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

THE unfortunate capital of Saxony, which had before ſuffered much calamity from the king of Pruſſia, was now again expoſed to the miſeries of a ſiege. The Auſtrian governor, general Macguire, being ſummoned to ſurrender, anſwered, that having the honour to be entruſted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it to the laſt extremity. Batteries were immediately raiſed againſt the town on both ſides of the Elbe; and the ſuburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried.

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carried. In the mean time, count Daun having received information of Frederick's return to Saxony, and of the ſiege of Dreſden, immediately marched back, and that with ſuch rapidity, that on the nineteenth of the month he reached the neighbourhood of Dreſden. In conſequence of his approach, the Pruſſian monarch, whoſe heavy artillery was now arrived, redoubled his efforts againſt the city, ſo as to reduce to aſhes ſeveral of the churches [Y], the new ſquare, ſeveral noble ſtreets, and ſome palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. The ſiege continued till the twenty-ſecond of the month, but mareſchal Daun having thrown ſixteen battalions into the city on the preceding night, Frederick abandoned his undertaking, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to bring the Auſtrian general to an engagement.

THE king of Poland, who was extremely affected at the devaſtation that had been made, dur-

[Y] Dr. Burney, after deſcribing the *Frauen Kirche*, or great Lutheran church of our Lady at Dreſden, which, he ſays, "is a very noble and elegant building, of white ſtone, with a "high dome in the middle," adds farther, "The king of "Pruſſia, in his laſt bombardment of Dreſden, tried every "means in his power to beat this church, as well as the other "public buildings, about the ears of the inhabitants; but in "vain; for the orbicular form of the dome threw off the balls "and ſhells, and totally prevented their effect. However, he "ſucceeded better in five or ſix other churches, which he to-"tally demoliſhed." Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 32.

ing

ing this short siege, in the capital of his electoral dominions, published a memorial on the occasion at Vienna, in which were the following passages: CHAP. XXIX. A. D. 1760.

'Since the troubles began, that desolate Germany, 'his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, 'hath been too often obliged to make just com'plaints to his high allies, to the diet of the em'pire, and to all Europe. Stripped of his hereditary dominions by a neighbour, who, on enter'ing them, asked only a passage through them, 'made protestations of friendship towards the 'sovereign, and declared he had no ground of 'complaint against him, nor any claim on the 'country; the king could not but look on the acts 'of hostility, committed by the Prussians, as so 'many injuries, as so many breaches of the law of 'nations, and manifest violations of the laws of the 'empire. But things were soon carried to such a 'length, that SAXONY would have thought herself 'too happy to find in the king of Prussia, not a 'depositary, but a declared enemy, provided this 'enemy would have respected the laws and customs 'of war, which humanity prescribes, and which 'all civilized nations have hitherto observed. She 'would not, in that case, have seen her towns 'subjected to contributions, which exceed all 'measure [z]; the suburbs of the capital set on 'fire,

[z] It is said, that 'the contributions that Frederick drew 'from Saxony, in 1760, amounted to more than two millions 'of

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'fire, without neceſſity; the lands laid waſte; and 'what completes her misfortunes, her young men 'torn from her by force, and conſtrained to bear 'arms againſt their ſovereign. Horrid treatment! 'and ſo oppoſite to humanity, that it is without 'example, not among civilized nations only, but 'even among the greateſt barbarians.

'SUNK under ſuch grievous oppreſſions, Saxony 'ſeemed to have no room to fear that her condition 'could be worſe. Nevertheleſs, ſhe hath found 'within the ſpace of the laſt year, that freſh miſ-'fortunes were in reſerve for her; and that, if the 'Pruſſians ſeemed for ſome time to preſerve the 'country, it was only that they themſelves might 'enjoy its produce. This tenderneſs was not 'dictated by humanity, but by intereſt. As the 'danger of being expelled Saxony increaſed, they 'diſplayed their cruelty. If they quitted any part 'of the country without hope of returning, they 'gave it up to pillage. Wherever they came, the

'of crowns, together with ten thouſand recruits, ſeveral hun-'dred thouſand buſhels of corn, and many thouſand horſes, 'oxen, ſheep, &c. The fineſt foreſts were alſo cut down and 'ſold.' Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 114.

Of the Pruſſian mode of raiſing recruits in Saxony, the following account was publiſhed about this time: "The Pruſſians "have carried off from Tchoppau and Chemnitz, rich manu-"facturing towns in Saxony, every man fit to carry arms, "without any regard to the remonſtrances of the manufacturers, "or to the cries of their diſtreſſed wives and children." Gent. Mag. for February, 1761, p. 93.

'unhappy

'unhappy peasant, was plundered without mercy; 'grain, forage, horses, cattle, of all kinds, were 'taken from him; and he was left without subsist- 'ence. Whole families, and the best workmen 'of all sorts, were carried off. Even women 'found no safeguard in their sex; but all, who 'were thought useful for Brandenburgh, were torn 'from their families, and carried into slavery.

'THE city of DRESDEN remained. Notwith- 'standing the ruin of its suburbs, it still maintained 'a numerous people: it was the resource of the 'neighbouring country. To complete the ruin of 'Saxony, the unfortunate city was to be destroyed. 'Had the enemy attacked the place according to 'the rules and customs of war, had they directed 'their efforts against the ramparts, the king would, 'without doubt, have lamented the evils that 'would have resulted from it to his people; but 'he would have lamented them without complain- 'ing: and though, in the fiercest wars, the resi- 'dences of sovereigns have hitherto been generally 'spared, his majesty would have been silent; for, 'in short, one is accustomed to consider the king 'of Prussia not as an ordinary enemy. But the 'Prussians made war on the innocent townsmen; 'their fire was wholly directed against the houses; 'and they endeavoured to destroy a town which 'they could not take.

'THE king cannot forbear pointing out to all 'Europe this remarkable circumstance, that the

'enemy

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'enemy redoubled their fire againſt the houſes of 'Dreſden, and did them the greateſt damage, 'when the arrival of mareſchal Daun, with his 'whole army, left them no hope of being able to 'take the place; and, in ſhort, that in drawing off 'their men from the ſuburbs before Wilſdruff-gate, 'they laid in aſhes upwards of an hundred houſes 'that had eſcaped in the preceding fires. The 'king of Pruſſia ſucceeded in completing the miſ-'fortunes of Saxony, by the diſaſters that befel the 'capital. Three hundred and fifty houſes de-'ſtroyed, with all that was in them, and a great 'many others half ruined, are a fatal loſs to a city 'already exhauſted by four ſucceſſive years of miſ-'fortunes. After theſe things, the king thinks it 'ſcarcely worth while to mention his palaces and 'his gardens, which were ſacked and ruined, in 'contempt of the regard uſually paid from one 'ſovereign to another. Is there a man in the 'empire, or even in all Europe, who doth not ſee 'in theſe terrible effects an implacable hatred, 'and a deſtructive fury, which all nations ought to 'concur in repreſſing [193]?'

AFTER general Laudohn had made himſelf maſter of Glatz, as I have already mentioned, he proceeded immediately to Breſlaw, and laid ſiege to that city. Having ſummoned the Pruſſian governor, count Taventzein, to ſurrender, that officer replied, that he ſhould defend the place to

[193] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 208, 209.

the

the laſt extremity. Laudohn thereupon opened his batteries on the firſt of Auguſt, and poured in upon the town a moſt terrible ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful diſcharge, which filled the place with horror and deſolation, the Auſtrian general attempted the outworks by aſſault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their uſual impetuoſity; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by the conduct and reſolution of the governor and garriſon. General Laudohn, however, continued to bombard the city, a conſiderable part of which was reduced to aſhes [A]. But prince Henry of Pruſſia having received intelligence, that the Ruſſian army intended to join general Laudohn at Breſlaw, reſolved to advance, with the troops under his command, and to relieve that city before the propoſed junction. He marched more than one hundred and twenty miles in five days, with all his artillery and baggage, and arrived within a few miles of Breſlaw on the fifth of Auguſt. General Laudohn did not chuſe to hazard an action with the Pruſſians, till he had formed a junction with the

[A] It was remarked, that, during this ſhort ſiege, the Auſtrians had killed the fineſt ſoldier in the Pruſſian army, and the moſt beautiful woman in Breſlaw, and deſtroyed the handſomeſt edifice in that city. The ſoldier, who was much admired for his perſon, belonged to the regiment of guards; and the female, who was alſo killed, was a young lady of the name of

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the Ruſſians; and, therefore, abandoned the ſiege on the approach of prince Henry [186].

Muller. The edifice deſtroyed was the palace of prince Hatzfeld. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 268.

[186] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, ut ſupra, p. 184. Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 19.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Frederick marches into Sileſia.—Battle of Lignitz.—Letter from the king to the marquis D'Argens.—He forms a junction with his brother prince Henry, and raiſes the ſiege of Schweidnitz.—The Ruſſians and Auſtrians enter the Marche of Brandenburgh, and make themſelves maſters of Berlin.—After a ſhort ſtay, the Ruſſians retire into Poland, and the Auſtrians into Saxony.—Progreſs of the Imperialiſts and Auſtrians in Saxony.—Battle of Torgau.—The king's correſpondence with the counteſs de Camas.—He puts his troops into winter-quarters.*

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WHEN the king of Pruſſia found himſelf obliged, by count Daun, to raiſe the ſiege of Dreſden, he reſolved immediately to march into Sileſia. Having left general Hulſen, with fifteen thouſand men, in the entrenched camp of Schlettow, to maintain his footing in Saxony, he began his march for Sileſia on the third of Auguſt. He was followed by count Daun with the grand Auſtrian army; while a detached body of Auſtrians, under general Laſcy, took poſt at Rechenberg, and the army of the empire encamped at Keffeldorff. Frederick paſſed five rivers, the Elbe, the Spree, the Neiſs, the Quieſs, and the Bober; and marched with extraordinary rapidity, though his army was encumbered with its heavy artillery, and

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more than two thouſand waggons. But notwithſtanding the celerity of his march, before he could come to any action, mareſchal Daun, with the main Auſtrian army, had formed a junction with general Laudohn, and they were ſoon after joined by count Laſcy. The Auſtrians then extended themſelves along the Katſbach, a river which falls into the Oder, and occupied all the ground from Parchwitz to Coſſendau, a ſpace of little leſs than thirty Engliſh miles. But, in this extent, their poſts were every where ſtrong, and their communications eaſy. On the tenth of Auguſt, Frederick encamped at LIGNITZ: but it was in vain that, for ſeveral days, he attempted, by various devices, to detach one body of the enemy from the reſt, or to turn their flanks, and attack them at diſadvantage. The nature of the ground, or the ſkill of the oppoſite generals, always diſappointed him [187].

IN this ſtate of things, the king received information, that twenty-four thouſand Ruſſians, under count Czernichef, had thrown bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they intended to croſs that river: and he concluded, that the enemy had formed a deſign to cloſe him in, and to attack him with their joint forces. But before any junction could take place between the Ruſſians and the Auſtrians, as the latter were, without any ſuch junction, greatly ſuperior in number to the Pruſſians, mareſchal Daun, having reconnoitred the

[187] Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 26, 27.

king's

king's ſituation at LIGNITZ, had formed a deſign of attacking him by ſurprize, in the night, with the united ſtrength of the three Auſtrian armies; and he had communicated his intentions to the two other generals. Of this deſign, the Pruſſian monarch is ſuppoſed to have received ſome private intimation: for, on the ſame night in which it was to have taken effect, he quitted his camp with the utmoſt privacy, and occupied an advantageous poſt on the heights of PSAFFENDORFF, by which general Laudohn was to have advanced. The Pruſſians had but juſt arrived at their new ſituation, when they received information, about two o'clock in the morning, that general Laudohn was in full march, and that his columns advanced by Bennowitz. The Pruſſian army thereupon ſeparated into two bodies; the right remained upon the ground where it had been formed, to obſerve mareſchal Daun, and to prevent him from advancing from the Schwartzwaſſer and through LIGNITZ [188]; and ſixteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons wheeled about, in order to attack general Laudohn the moment he arrived.

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AT three in the morning, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, the Auſtrian general had advanced to the village of PSAFFENDORFF, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually diſperſing, the Pruſſian army appeared in order of battle, in a well choſen

[188] Univerſal Mag. vol. XXVII. p. 159, from the London Gazette.

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ſituation, and ſtrengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the beſt advantage. General Laudohn was aſtoniſhed to find the Pruſſians in this ſituation, of which he had not entertained the moſt diſtant conception. He formed his troops, however, as well as the time, place, and circumſtances would permit; and the Pruſſians advancing to the attack, a ſevere action enſued. The king rode along the line to animate the troops, and ſuperintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the moſt dangerous ſcenes of the battle; ſo that his horſe was killed under him, and his clothes were ſhot through in ſeveral places[189]. The Auſtrians maintained the fight with great obſtinacy until ſix in the morning, when they gave ground, and were purſued to the Katzbach, beyond which Frederick would not allow his troops to proſecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be able to ſuccour the right, in caſe mareſchal Daun ſhould ſucceed in his attempt to advance againſt them from LIGNITZ. That general had, indeed, made his approaches to the camp which the Pruſſians had juſt before occupied; and was much ſurprized, on his arrival at Lignitz, to find no enemy there. But when he perceived a thick cloud of ſmoke at a diſtance, he comprehended what had happened, and endeavoured to advance to the ſupport of Laudohn by the way of Lignitz. This, however, was prevented, by the Pruſſian troops and artillery

[189] Smollett, ut ſupra, p. 272.

which

which had been left to diſpute his march, which were ſo advantageouſly diſpoſed, as to render all his efforts abortive.

IN the battle of LIGNITZ, the loſs on the ſide of the Auſtrians amounted to more than ſix thouſand, killed, wounded, and priſoners; together with twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon. The loſs of the Pruſſians was computed at ſeventeen hundred killed and wounded. Immediately after the action Frederick marched to Parchwitz; while mareſchal Daun detached a ſtrong body of troops, under prince Lowenſtein and general Beck, to ſtrengthen the Ruſſians, and to encourage them to advance. But count Czernichef was ſo much alarmed by the defeat of the Auſtrians at Lignitz, that, inſtead of advancing, he repaſſed the Oder by the ſame bridges on which he had lately croſſed it [190]. By the victory, therefore, which the king of Pruſſia had obtained, he not only eſcaped the imminent danger of a defeat from the joint efforts of the different Auſtrian armies, but alſo prevented the junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian forces [B].

BUT

[190] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 29.

[B] In an account of ſome of the operations of this campaign, which was publiſhed by authority at Berlin, it is ſaid, that "the battle of LIGNITZ ſtopped the execution of the deſigns of the king's enemies againſt him, and diſconcerted their plan for the reſt of the campaign. Three armies, each of them ſuperior in number to that of the king, which had

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BUT notwithſtanding the advantage which he had gained by his ſucceſs in this action, he was ſtill ſurrounded by numerous enemies, and his ſituation was extremely critical. A letter, which he wrote ſoon after the battle of Lignitz to the marquis D'Argens, who had congratulated him upon his victory, was intercepted by a Ruſſian detachment, and was afterwards printed and circulated about, with a view of diſpiriting his friends. Of that letter, which contains ſome obſervations on his ſituation at this time, the following is a tranſlation:

'FORMERLY, my dear marquis, the affair of the '15th of Auguſt would have decided a campaign: 'at preſent, that action is no more than a ſcratch. 'A great battle muſt determine our fate. We 'ſhall have one, according to all appearances, 'very ſoon; and then, if the event be favourable 'to us, we may rejoice. I return you thanks, 'however, for the ſincere part that you take in 'the late advantage which I have obtained. It 'required many ſtratagems, and much addreſs, to 'bring things to that paſs. Do not talk to me of 'danger; the laſt action coſt me only a ſuit of

"even entirely ſurrounded him, and which counted ſo much "on the ſucceſs of the meaſures they had taken to overwhelm "him, that they had even fixed the day which was to decide "his fate, were, by this victory, reduced for a long time to "total inaction, and obliged to think more of defending them-"ſelves, than of forming offenſive enterprizes." Grand Mag. vol. III. p. 614.

'clothes

'clothes and a horſe. That is buying victory very cheap.

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'I HAVE not received the letter which you mention. We are in a manner blocked up, in regard to correſpondence, by the Ruſſians on one ſide the Oder, and by the Auſtrians on the other. A ſmall ſkirmiſh was neceſſary to clear the way for Cocceii [c]: I hope that he will deliver you my letter.

'I NEVER was, in the courſe of my life, in a more embarraſſing ſituation than in this campaign. Believe me, nothing leſs than a miracle is ſtill neceſſary to extricate me from the difficulties that I foreſee. I ſhall certainly do my duty when occaſion offers; but, my dear marquis, always remember, that I pretend not to command fortune, and that I am obliged, in my projects, to leave too much to chance, becauſe I have it not in my power to form ſchemes that are more ſolid. I have the labours of a Hercules to undergo, at a time of life when my ſtrength fails me, and my infirmities increaſe; and, to ſpeak the truth, when hope, the only conſolation of the unhappy, begins to deſert me. You are not ſufficiently acquainted with the circumſtances of affairs, to have a clear idea of all the dangers which threaten the ſtate. I know, but conceal them: I keep all my fears to myſelf; and only communicate

[c] Cocceii was the name of the aid-de-camp, who was charged with the care of this letter.

'to

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'to the public my hopes, or the little good news 'that I can acquaint them with. If the blow that 'I meditate ſucceeds, then, my dear marquis, it 'will be time enough to expreſs our joy. But, till 'then, let us not flatter ourſelves, leſt, by ſome 'unexpected ill news, we ſhould be too much 'dejected.

'I LEAD here the life of a military monk. I 'have much to think of about my affairs; and the 'reſt of my time I devote to literature, which is 'my conſolation, as it was that of the conſul, the 'father of his country, and of eloquence. I know 'not whether I ſhall ſurvive this war; but, if that 'ſhould be the caſe, I am reſolved to paſs the re-'mainder of my days in retirement, in the boſom 'of philoſophy, and of friendſhip.

'WHEN our correſpondence ſhall be more open, 'you will oblige me by writing more frequently. 'I know not where we ſhall have our winter-quar-'ters. My houſe at Breſlaw was deſtroyed in the 'late bombardment. Our enemies envy us every 'thing, even day light, and the air we breathe. 'They muſt, however, leave us ſome place; and, 'if it be ſafe, it will be a treat to receive you 'there.

'PRAY, my dear marquis, what is become of 'the peace with France? Your nation, you ſee, is 'more blind than you imagined. Thoſe fools loſe 'Canada, and Pondicherry, to pleaſe the queen of 'Hungary and the czarina. Heaven grant, that

'prince

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'prince Ferdinand may well reward them for their zeal! The officers, innocent of theſe evils, and the ſoldiers, will be made the victims; and the illuſtrious offenders will ſuffer nothing.—I was in a writing vein, but I ſee that I muſt conclude, leſt I ſhould tire you, and neglect my own buſineſs. Adieu, my dear marquis; I embrace you [191].'

FROM Parchwitz the king of Pruſſia proceeded to Newmarcke, where he formed a junction with his brother prince Henry. He then advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was now blocked up by the Auſtrian army under the command of count Daun. In his march, he fell upon a ſeparate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats priſoners, and diſperſed ſeveral ſquadrons. The Auſtrian general then raiſed the blockade of Schweidnitz, and retreated to the mountains of Landſhut.

BUT whilſt Frederick was exerting himſelf with the utmoſt activity againſt his enemies in Siléſia, the capital of his dominions was attacked both by the Auſtrians and the Ruſſians. After the Ruſſian army had retreated out of Sileſia, count Czernichef, with a ſtrong detachment, entered the Marche of Brandenburgh; while a numerous body of Auſtrians and Imperialiſts, under the generals Laſcy and

[191] Vie de Frederick II. Roi de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 126, 127, 128. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 31, 32. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. IV. p. 400, 401.

Brentano,

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Brentano, penetrated into the ſame country from Saxony, with inſtructions to join the Ruſſians at the gates of BERLIN. General Hulſen, who had commanded a body of Pruſſian troops againſt the Imperialiſts in Miſnia, now drew near to Berlin, where he was joined by another body of troops under general Werner, which had lately returned from Pomerania. But as their forces, after this junction, did not exceed ſixteen thouſand men, and the Ruſſians, Auſtrians, and Imperialiſts, amounted to forty thouſand, they would not pretend to oppoſe the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of ſuch extent, and ſo imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt, they thought, would only have expoſed their troops to ruin, without being able to ſave the capital, which would probably be the more ſeverely treated, in conſequence of their oppoſition. They, therefore, reſolved to retire, after having repulſed the advanced guard of the Ruſſians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and began to bombard the city, before the great armies appeared. At their approach, the Pruſſian generals retreated to Spandau, leaving three weak battalions in Berlin, in hopes that they might be the means of obtaining ſome terms for the city. On the firſt ſummons, articles of capitulation were propoſed; but theſe were refuſed, and the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In favour of the city, however, the foreign miniſters, reſident at Berlin, interpoſed their mediation

tion with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that tolerable conditions were obtained. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their perſons and effects. It was agreed, that the Ruſſian irregulars ſhould not enter the city; and that the king's palace ſhould not be violated. Theſe articles being ratified, the Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered the place, where they totally deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, with an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, and a great number of cannon and ſmall arms. They then demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns. Sundry precautions appear to have been adopted by the Auſtrian and Ruſſian officers, in order to obſerve an exact diſcipline; notwithſtanding which many outrages were committed by the licentious ſoldiery. But the country of Brandenburgh ſuffered more ſeverely on this occaſion than the city of Berlin; for the country had made no conditions; and it was found extremely difficult to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the Ruſſian Coſſacks. The apartments of the royal palace of Charlottenburgh were plundered, the furniture ſpoiled, the pictures defaced, and ſome fine antique ſtatues, which had been collected by cardinal Polignac, and afterwards purchaſed by the king of Pruſſia, were mutilated and damaged. The caſtle of Schonhauſen, belonging

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longing to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeldt, belonging to the margrave Charles, were alſo plundered. But the king's favourite palace of Sans-Souci was effectually protected by prince Eſterhaſi, who commanded at Potſdam. That prince, who was a general in the Auſtrian ſervice, would not ſuffer the leaſt injury to be done to this palace; but having inquired which of the portraits of the king in the palace reſembled him moſt, deſired leave to take that picture, and two of his German flutes, which he ſhould preſerve, he ſaid, as memorials of his Pruſſian majeſty [192].

IT was on the ninth of October that the Ruſſian and Auſtrian troops entered Berlin, and they quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was in full march to the relief of his capital. The body of Ruſſians, which had entered Berlin, marched from thence into Poland, by the way of Furſtenwalde, while the Auſtrians took the route of Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburgh. In their retreat, by different routes, they drove away all the cattle and horſes they could find, ravaged the country, and are ſaid to have committed many outrages on the inhabitants. But ſome accounts, which were afterwards publiſhed at Berlin, of the behaviour of the Ruſſians and Auſtrians in that city, and in the country of Brandenburgh, appear to contain much exaggeration.

[192] Smollett, *ubi ſupra*, p. 276, 277. Annual Regiſter, p. 44, 45. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 273.

WHILE

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WHILE the Ruſſians and Auſtrians were employed in invading the electorate of Brandenburgh, the duke de Deuxponts, at the head of the army of the empire, together with ſome bodies of Auſtrian troops, took poſſeſſion of Torgau and Leipſic, and all the other great towns in Saxony, excepting Dreſden; and the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts became maſters on both ſides of the Elbe. A detachment from the French army in Weſtphalia alſo laid Halberſtadt under contribution; and one part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Ruſſians, who had inveſted Colberg both by ſea and land.

WHEN the king of Pruſſia was informed, that his enemies had abandoned Berlin, and evacuated Brandenburgh, inſtead of proceeding thither, he immediately paſſed the Elbe, and ruſhed into Saxony. Mareſchal Daun followed him, with an army of eighty thouſand men, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Torgau; his right wing extending to the Elbe, by which it was covered, and his centre and his left being ſecured by ponds, hills, and woods [193]. It was on the twenty-ſeventh of October, that the right wing of the king of Pruſſia's army paſſed the Elbe at Reſlau, where he was joined by the troops under general Hulſen and the prince of Wirtemberg. On the day following, the right wing proceeded to Kemberg, where it rejoined the left, which had croſſed the Elbe at

[193] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 389.

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Bleſſern. The Pruſſian army then encamped on the right of the Mulda, the reſerve, under general Hulſen, extending to Taucha. The army of the empire thereupon retreated, and general Hulſen took poſſeſſion of Leipſic, and afterwards rejoined the main Pruſſian army.

THE ſituation of the king of Pruſſia at the preſent period was ſo extremely critical, and his enemies ſo numerous and ſo formidable, that he reſolved at all events to hazard a battle with the main Auſtrian army; though it was ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, and ſo ſtrongly p ſted, as to render the attempt apparently highly dangerous and imprudent. He told his army, that he was about to lead them on to a moſt deſperate attempt, that his affairs required it, and that he was determined to conquer, or die in the expected engagement. They anſwered, with ardour, that they would die, or conquer with him. He divided his army into three bodies: general Hulſen, with one of theſe bodies, was directed to take poſt in a wood on the left of the Auſtrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the other diviſions of the Pruſſian army were engaged; general Ziethen was inſtructed to charge on the enemy's right; and the grand attack in front was to be conducted by the king himſelf in perſon [194].

[194] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 47. Hiſt. of Modern Europe, p. 390.

WHEN

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WHEN mareſchal Daun found, that the king of Pruſſia was determined to fight him, he ſent all his baggage, with a view of preventing confuſion, over the Elbe, acroſs which he threw three bridges, to be ready in caſe a retreat ſhould be found neceſſary; and, at the ſame time, he cauſed TORGAU to be evacuated. Then extending his firſt line to a village called Zinne on the left, he ſtretched it to another called Groſwitz on the right; ſupporting the right of his ſecond line upon the Elbe. In this diſpoſition he was found, about two o'clock in the afternoon, on the third of November, 1760, when the king began his attack, and was received by the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, which were arranged along the Auſtrian front.

THE Pruſſians commenced the battle with the moſt deſperate animoſity; but they met with ſuch a warm reception from the artillery, ſmall arms, and in particular from the Auſtrian carabiniers, that their grenadiers were ſhattered and repulſed. The ſecond charge, though made with extraordinary vigour, was equally unſucceſsful. Frederick then ordered his cavalry to advance, and they fell upon ſome regiments of infantry with ſuch fury as compelled them to give way. But theſe were obliged to retire, in their turn, before ſeven battalions of the Auſtrians, who advanced towards TORGAU, ſtretching with their right to the Elbe, and their left to Zinne. The prince of Holſtein then rallied the Pruſſian cavalry, and returned to

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the charge. The third line of Pruſſian infantry alſo attacked the village of Suptitz, and general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in the rear. This diſpoſition threw the Auſtrians into diſorder, and their defeat was facilitated by mareſchal Daun receiving ſo dangerous a wound in the thigh, as rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould be carried off the field of battle. He reſigned the command of the army to general Buccow; but his arm was ſhot off in a few minutes after, and the command then devolved upon general Odonell, an officer of great merit, who was deſcended from a good family in Ireland. The Auſtrians retreated under his direction; and they croſſed the Elbe on the bridges of boats, which had been thrown over the river at TORGAU. The Pruſſians were the leſs able to proſecute their victory, becauſe the action had laſted until nine at night, and the night was unuſually dark. The king himſelf, as uſual, expoſed his perſon in the moſt dangerous parts of the battle, and was ſlightly wounded by a muſket ball upon the breaſt [D].

THE

[D] It appears from ſome anecdotes which are related concerning the king after this battle, that other balls had penetrated his clothes. It alſo appears from the ſame anecdotes, that he was not ſo much with his guards during this action as uſual; and, from the particulars that are mentioned, it ſeems that he ſometimes let his ſoldiers, and particularly his guards, take great liberties with him. It is ſaid, that the night after the battle of TORGAU being very cold, large fires were made, near one

THE battle of TORGAU was a very hard contested battle, and though the Prussians gained the victory, CHAP. XXX. A. D. 1760.

one of which the king stood to warm himself, surrounded by some of his grenadier guards. The name of one of those who stood nearest him was REBIAK; and with this man the king often conversed very familiarly, and frequently gave him money. On this occasion Rebiak asked his majesty, who had commended his guards for their bravery, where he himself had been during most of the battle? "Generally," said he, "we have been "accustomed to see you at our head; and to be led on by you "to the hottest fire. But to-day we have seen very little of "you. You did not use to desert us thus formerly." Frederick mildly replied, that he had been in another part of the action, where his presence had been more necessary, and which had prevented him from being with his guards as usual. During this conversation, the king growing warm with the heat of the fire, unbuttoned his surtout; and then the soldiers observed a musquet-ball fall from his clothes; and from the holes, which had been made in his clothes, they also perceived the dangers he had encountered. The grenadiers then exclaimed, "Thou "art our old FRITZ; thou partakest every danger with us; "and we will die for thee. *Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*" FRITZ was a diminutive of FREDERICK, and was expressive of familiarity and affection.

Another grenadier afterwards said to the king, "Now, I "suppose, Fritz, thou wilt allow us good winter-quarters." "*Par tous les diables*," exclaimed the king, "I shall not, till "we have taken Dresden; and then I will provide for you to "your heart's content." During this conversation, some of the old grenadiers had lighted their short pipes, and as they crowded round the king, perfumed him very liberally with the smoke of their tobacco. One of them then said to the others, "Keep back." "No, stay, my boys," said the king, "I "like the smell." But though the king was thus willing to

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victory, their loſs in killed and wounded [E] amounted to more than ſeven thouſand. The number of the Auſtrians killed and wounded is ſuppoſed not to have been much greater; but the Pruſſians took near eight thouſand priſoners, including four generals, and two hundred other officers, together with twenty-nine pair of colours, one ſtandard, and forty pieces of cannon.

THE day after the battle, the king entered the town of Torgau; and, in conſequence of his victory, he recovered all Saxony, excepting Dreſden, before the end of the campaign. He had entertained, indeed, very ſtrong hopes of being able to regain poſſeſſion of Dreſden; but he was diſappointed; for general Odonell, after the battle, had re-

keep his grenadiers in good humour, it was well known, that he had a great diſlike to the ſmell of tobacco.

Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 275, 276. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 61, 62, 63.

It appears from ſeveral anecdotes which are related of the king, that he ſometimes ſwore in converſation; and Voltaire ſays of him, "He has a pleaſing tone of voice, even in ſwearing, which is as familiar to him as to a grenadier." Idée du Roy de Pruſſe, p. 4.

[E] Among the wounded, in the battle of Torgau, was an inferior officer, who had much diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action, and who had his right hand ſhot off. After the battle, the king aſked him, what recompence he ſhould make him for the loſs of his right hand? "Sire," replied the officer, "only permit me to ſerve you with my left." Frederick appeared ſtruck with his anſwer, and immediately made him a captain.

treated

treated towards that city, provided for its ſafety, and taken poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Plauen; and the king found himſelf unable to diſlodge the Auſtrians from that ſituation. In the following letter, which was written, a few days after the battle, to the counteſs de Camas, grand miſtreſs of the queen's houſehold, for whom the king had a great eſteem, he has expreſſed his diſappointment reſpecting Dreſden:

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'Newſtadt, Nov. 11, 1760.

'I am punctual in anſwering, and eager to 'oblige you. Perſons of the ſame age agree 'wonderfully. I have given up ſuppers theſe four 'years, as incompatible with the buſineſs that I 'am forced to carry on; and, on marching days, 'my dinner is only a diſh of chocolate. We have 'been running like madmen, quite elated with 'victory, to ſee whether we could drive the Auſ-'trians from Dreſden; but they laughed at us 'from the tops of their mountains. I returned, 'like a diſappointed child, to hide my vexation 'in one of the moſt curſed villages of Saxony. 'We muſt now drive meſſieurs Les Cercles [r] 'out of Freyberg and Chemnitz, in order to get 'ſomething to eat, and a place to ſleep in.

'This is, I ſwear to you, ſuch a dog's life, as 'no one, except Don Quixote, ever led but my-'ſelf. All this buſtle, all this confuſion, which 'ſeems to be without end, has made me ſuch an

[r] The king means the army of the empire.

'old

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'old fellow, that you would hardly know me again. 'The hair on the right ſide of my head is grown 'quite grey; my teeth break, and fall out; my 'face is as full of wrinkles as the furbelow of a 'petticoat; and my body arched like a monk's of 'La Trappe. I give you notice of all this, that, 'if we ſhould meet again in fleſh and bone, you 'may not be too much ſhocked at my figure. 'Nothing belonging to me remains unaltered, 'except my heart, which, as long as I breathe, 'will retain ſentiments of eſteem, and of tender 'friendſhip, for my good mamma. Adieu [195].'

IN another letter written to the ſame lady, dated the 27th of the ſame month, he ſays, 'We have 'ſettled our winter quarters; I have yet a little 'round to take, and afterwards I ſhall go and ſeek 'for tranquility at Leipſic, if it be to be found 'there; but, indeed, for me, tranquility is only a 'metaphyſical word, which has no reality [196].' Another of his letters to the counteſs, appears to have been an anſwer to one from her, in which ſhe had informed him, that one of the maids of honour in the queen's court, who was ſaid to have a dropſy, had been diſcovered by her to be with child. In reference to this incident, Frederick ſays, 'In truth, my good mamma, you are very

[195] Correſpondance familiere et amiçale de Frederick Roi de Pruſſe, avec U. F. de Suhm, &c. tom. II. p. 140, 141. Monthly Review, vol. LXXVI. p. 580.

[196] Correſpondance familiere et amiçale, ut ſupra, p. 141.

'expert, and I congratulate you upon your ſkill in dropſies. The event which has happened is a very common one; and there are no courts, nor even convents, in which ſuch things do not happen. For myſelf, who am apt to be very indulgent to the weakneſſes of our ſpecies, I am not inclined to ſtone maids of honour who produce children. They contribute to perpetuate the human ſpecies, which ferocious politicians are employed in deſtroying, by their ſanguinary wars. I confeſs to you, that I like better thoſe females whoſe diſpoſitions are too tender and ſuſceptible, than thoſe dragons of chaſtity, who are for giving no quarter to offenders of their own ſex.—Let this child be well brought up, that no family may be diſgraced, and let the poor offending female be removed from the court with as much delicacy as poſſible, and in that manner which may be the leaſt injurious to her reputation [197].' In another letter he ſays to the counteſs, 'I wiſh you, my good mamma, all the proſperity of which theſe calamitous times are ſuſceptible; and eſpecially that you may preſerve your good humour, the greateſt, and the moſt real treaſure, that fortune can give us [198].'

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ON the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, died George II. king of Great Britain, and was ſucceeded by his preſent majeſty, king George III. in

[197] Correſpondance familiere et amicale, ut ſupra, p. 142.
[198] Ibid. p. 146.

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whose first speech to the parliament was the following passage: "I rely upon your zeal and hearty "concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and "the rest of my allies, and to make ample pro- "vision for carrying on the war, as the only means "to bring our enemies to equitable terms of ac- "commodation." On the twelfth of December following, the fifth treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, by which it was agreed, that a fourth sum of 670,000l. should be paid to his Prussian majesty, in the same manner as had been stipulated by the preceding treaties [G].

SOON

[G] It appears from the accounts of the supplies voted by the British parliament, for the year 1761, that the following sums were also granted that year, in support of the German war:

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For defraying the charge of 39,773 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and count of Buckeburg, for one year — — | 463,874 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 foot, troops of Hesse-Cassel, for one year — — | 268,960 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of an additional corps of 1576 horse, and 8808 foot, troops of Hesse-Cassel, for one year — | 147,071 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charge of 1205 cavalry, and 2208 infantry, troops of the duke of Brunswick, for one year, and a subsidy for that time — — | 57,798 | 0 | 0 |
| For defraying the charges of five battalions, serving in Germany, for one year — | 25,504 | 0 | 0 |

For

Soon after the battle of Torgau, general Laudohn raised the siege of Kosel, and retreated to Upper Silesia; the Russians also abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and retired into Poland; while the Swedes, being defeated by the Prussians in Western Pomerania, were again compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Stralsund [199]. As to the king of Prussia, having found it impracticable to regain possession of Dresden, he put his troops into winter-quarters, in Leipsic, Meissen, and the neighbouring towns and villages. He resided himself chiefly at Leipsic; and it is said, that in the midst of 'preparations for a new 'campaign, against 280,000 enemies, he yet found 'sufficient leisure for peaceable occupations; and 'consecrated some hours every day to reading, to 'music, and to the conversation of men of 'letters [200].'

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Among other literary men with whom the king conversed, during this winter, one was M. Gellert, then professor of belles lettres at Leipsic. The king sent M. Guiscard, then a major in his army,

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| For defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread-waggons, train of artillery, &c. of the army under the command of prince Ferdinand — — | 1,000,000 | 0 | 0 |

Annual Register, vol. V. p. 153, 154.

[199] Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 392.

[200] Vie de Frederick II, Roy de Prusse, tom. II. p. 141.

and

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and to whom he had given the name of Quintus Icilius, to bring the profeſſor to him. They had a long converſation together; and Frederick aſked him, among other things, what was the reaſon, that there were no good German writers? Quintus obſerved, that his majeſty had then before his eyes an excellent German writer, whoſe productions even the French had judged worthy of a tranſlation, and whom they called the Fontaine of Germany. The king replied, that this was a ſtrong proof of M. Gellert's merit; but he afterwards aſked, what the reaſon was, that there were not in Germany a greater number of ſuch good authors as he was? Gellert then remarked, that his majeſty ſeemed to be prejudiced againſt the Germans. "By no means," ſaid the king. "Againſt the German writers, at "leaſt," replied the profeſſor. "That may be," ſaid the king; "and the truth is, I have not a very "high opinion of them." Gellert remarked, that ſeveral cauſes had contributed to prevent the Germans from becoming eminent as writers. "While "the arts and ſciences flouriſhed among the "Greeks," ſaid he, "the Romans were ſolely "occupied in the pernicious art of war. May we "not look upon this as the military age of Ger- "many? May I not add to this, that the Ger- "mans have not been animated by ſuch patrons of "learning as Auguſtus and Lewis XIV." Frederick obſerved, that there had been two Auguſtus's

in

in Saxony. Gellert replied, that there had been good beginnings in that country; but he afterwards added, "If your majeſty would be ſo generous as "to give peace to Germany."—"How can I do "that?" ſaid Frederick, interrupting him: "Have "you not heard, that I have three crowned heads "againſt me?" "My chief knowledge, ſire," replies the profeſſor, "lies in antient hiſtory: I "have ſtudied much leſs that of modern times." The king then turned the converſation to Homer and Virgil, and ſeemed himſelf inclined to give the preference to the latter. Some diſcourſe afterwards paſſed concerning Gellert's own works; and the day after, in talking of the profeſſor at table, Frederick ſaid, that "of all the learned Ger-"mans, Gellert was the moſt rational and judi-"cious [291]."

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DURING the courſe of this year, the allied army, under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, acted chiefly on the defenſive; but, on the thirty-firſt of July, an action took place between the allied army and that of France, at Warburg in Weſtphalia, in which prince Ferdinand obtained the victory. The loſs of the French, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to more than three thouſand; and the Britiſh troops greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this action. In conſequence of this victory, prince Ferdinand was

[291] London Mag. vol. XXXI. p. 191, 192, 193.

enabled

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enabled to prevent the French from penetrating deeply into Hanover; but they took poſſeſſion of the whole landgraviate of Heſſe, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of Gottingen and Munden, in the dominions of his Britannick majeſty.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Frederick takes poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia.—Sends a body of troops into Poland, who deſtroy the magazines of the Ruſſians.—General Laudohn takes Schweidnitz by a coup de main.—The Ruſſians make themſelves maſters of Colberg.—Death of the empreſs of Ruſſia.—The king of Pruſſia again makes himſelf maſter of Schweidnitz.—The combined army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, in Saxony, defeated by prince Henry of Pruſſia at Freyberg.—Incurſions made by the Pruſſian troops into Bohemia and Franconia, and heavy contributions levied on the inhabitants.—Peace of Hubertſbourg.*

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THOUGH the king of Pruſſia, during the long and ſanguinary war in which he was engaged, had exhibited the higheſt degree of courage and of military ſkill, had obtained the moſt ſplendid victories, and made exertions ſo extraordinary, that they ſeemed almoſt miraculous, he yet found, that the longer the war continued, the more his difficulties were encreaſed. His army did not conſiſt of the ſame troops, as thoſe with which he had commenced the war; he had loſt vaſt numbers of his men not only in action, but by diſeaſes, by the rigour of the ſeaſons, and by perpetual hardſhips and fatigues; and he had alſo loſt many of

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his beſt and ableſt generals [H]. He had likewiſe loſt great numbers of his men by deſertion; for ſuch was the rigour of the Pruſſian diſcipline, ſuch the hardſhips that his men endured, and many were enliſted by methods ſo oppreſſive and unjuſt [I], that great numbers were always ready to deſert, whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Saxony had alſo been ſo impoveriſhed and exhauſted, that he could not draw from it the ſupplies that he did at firſt; nor could his own dominions furniſh him either with the money that he wanted, or with a ſufficient number of recruits. His enemies, though they alſo had ſuffered greatly during the war, were not weakened in proportion; becauſe they had more natural, and more conſiderable reſources, with reſpect both to men and money. Theſe difficulties, therefore, induced Frederick, during the courſe of the year 1761, to act chiefly on the defenſive.

As during the laſt campaign, the Auſtrians had made themſelves maſters of Glatz, the king was

[H] It has been ſaid, 'that the king of Pruſſia's loſſes were 'not to be reckoned by the men killed and priſoners, but by 'armies deſtroyed or taken. Forty generals had died, or were 'ſlain in his ſervice, ſince the firſt of October, 1756, excluſive 'of thoſe who had been wounded, diſabled, or made priſoners.' Annual Regiſter, vol. III. p. 11.

[I] Baron Bielfeld, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian troops in the year 1740, long before the Saxons had been dragged into the Pruſſian ſervice, ſays, "Almoſt all our levies have been raiſed "either by force or artifice." Letters, vol. IV. p. 26.

extremely

extremely ſolicitous to prevent their making a progreſs in Sileſia. Early, therefore, in the year 1761, he took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia, not far from Schweidnitz; having left his troops in Saxony, which were ſtrongly encamped near Leipſic, under the command of prince Henry. The Ruſſian army was this year divided into two bodies; one of which, commanded by general Tottleben, directed its march towards Pomerania; and the other, under general Butterlin, entered into Upper Sileſia, and advanced towards Breſlaw. General Laudohn, at the head of an Auſtrian army, entered that province at the part oppoſite to them; and they propoſed to unite their armies, in order to attack the king of Pruſſia, or to take Breſlaw, or Schweidnitz, in his preſence. The Ruſſians ſpread themſelves over all the open country of Sileſia, and exacted heavy contributions; and a body of them appeared before Breſlaw, on the firſt of Auguſt, and began to cannonade the city, from ſeven batteries. In the mean time, general Laudohn exerted the whole of his ſkill to draw the king from his poſt, and to engage him in a diſadvantageous action. He ſometimes advanced, as if he meant to join the Ruſſians; and ſometimes his motions intimated a deſign to attack Schweidnitz. Theſe attempts failing, he turned off, and made a feint, as if he intended to fall upon Lower Sileſia, in hopes that he might at leaſt oblige the Pruſſian monarch

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monarch to detach and divide his forces. But Frederick continued immoveable in his poſt [102].

WHILE theſe movements were making in Sileſia, the Ruſſians had again beſieged Colberg in Pomerania. A ſtrong fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail, blockaded it by ſea, whilſt a body of Ruſſian troops, under general Romanzow, formed the ſiege by land. The king of Pruſſia was extremely deſirous to prevent the Ruſſians from taking Colberg; and, therefore, reſolved to ſend general Platen, with a conſiderable detachment, to its relief. But he intended, at the ſame time, to employ that general in another ſervice. He ordered him to direct his march through Poland, and to deſtroy the Ruſſian magazines, which had been amaſſed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Sileſia drew its chief ſubſiſtence. General Platen accordingly deſtroyed three of the principal Ruſſian magazines. He alſo attacked a great convoy of their waggons, deſtroyed five hundred, and burnt the greateſt part of the proviſions that they contained; and moſt of the four thouſand men, who guarded this convoy, were either killed or taken priſoners. General Platen then proceeded on his march to Pomerania. The Ruſſians in Sileſia had juſt formed a junction with the Auſtrians; but the deſtruction of their magazines, and the conſequent ſcarcity of proviſions, induced them to ſeparate again from their Auſtrian allies, to drop

[102] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 32, 33.

their

their designs upon Breslaw, to repass the Oder, and to retire into Poland. CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1761.

When the Russians under general Butterlin retired out of Silesia, the king of Prussia, who also found a want of provisions in his camp near Schweidnitz, in order to be the more easily supplied, now approached nearer to the Oder. On making this movement, he also ventured to draft four thousand men from the garrison of Schweidnitz. He thought, that the preparations necessary to a siege, would give him sufficient notice, and sufficient time, to provide for the safety of that important place, from which he had removed only to a small distance. But general Laudohn, who, through the whole campaign, had watched the motions of the king, with the most diligent and penetrating assiduity, and had hitherto found no part open and unguarded, now resolved to attempt SCHWEIDNITZ, by a coup de main. On the first of October, at three in the morning, the assault began. An attack was made, at the same time, on all the four outworks, which the troops, ordered on this important enterprize, approached with so much precaution, that they were not perceived by the Prussian garrison. They scaled all the four at the same time, and the troops which defended them had scarcely time to fire a few cannon shot [203]. On the side of the Austrians, not a gun was discharged; but in one of those outworks a powder-magazine

[203] Annual Register, vol. IV. p. 34, 35.

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was blown up, by which many of the Auſtrians were killed. This magazine is ſaid to have been blown up on purpoſe by a Pruſſian ſoldier belonging to the artillery, who, when he ſaw the Auſtrians mount the ramparts, exclaimed, "They ſhall not "enter into the town:" and immediately ſet fire to the magazine, by which he blew up himſelf, and three hundred Auſtrians [204]. The beſiegers, however, carried the outworks, and immediately prepared to aſſault the body of the place, which they entered by burſting open the gates; and at daybreak they found themſelves maſters of the town. Lieutenant-general Zaſtrow, governor of the fortreſs, with about three thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. The Auſtrians found here a great number of cannon, and a large quantity of proviſions; and their loſs, in this bold and fortunate undertaking, did not much exceed ſix hundred men.

THIS was a very unexpected blow to the king of Pruſſia. In anſwer to a letter concerning it from general Zaſtrow, who ſtated that the garriſon had made a vigorous defence, Frederick wrote back, 'You write to me, as Francis I. wrote to 'his mother, after the battle of Pavia, *We have 'loſt every thing, except our honour.* Nevertheleſs, 'I cannot comprehend what has happened, and I 'ſuſpend my judgment. The affair is very ex-

[204] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 146.

'traordinary.'

'traordinary [205].' The fact appears to have been, that Schweidnitz was a place not ſo eaſy to be defended [K] againſt a ſudden and powerful attack, as it was apprehended to be by the king of Pruſſia, who is ſaid to have been leſs ſkilful in fortification, than in any other branch of military ſcience. And after he had drafted four thouſand men from the garriſon, a ſufficient number ſeem not to have been left for manning the works. General Zaſtrow, who appears to have been a brave

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[205] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 147.

[K] General Lloyd ſays, that the town of SCHWEIDNITZ 'lies in a fine plain, about three miles diſtant from the mountains which ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia. It is rich and populous. Originally, when it firſt came into the power of the Pruſſians, during the preceding war, it was ſurrounded only by an old wall, with round towers, in the Gothic manner; but his majeſty, conſidering the advantageous ſituation of it, as well to facilitate any projects he might hereafter form againſt Bohemia, as to cover Sileſia, reſolved to fortify it. Accordingly, on the concluſion of that war, he ordered ſeveral redoubts, called ſtar redoubts, becauſe they reſemble a ſtar, to be built about it. Theſe were joined by a curtain; and, in the intervals, between the redoubts, were placed ſome ſmall lunettes, or half moons: the whole covered by a ditch, with a covered way palliſaded. Of all the ſpecies of works, uſed in fortification, the ſtarry redoubt is the worſt; becauſe, by the nature of its conſtruction, it can have no flank; and the re-entering angles take up ſo much of the ground within, that they cannot contain the number of men and artillery ſufficient to defend them; and are, moreover, expoſed to be enfiladed from one end to the other; ſo that it is impoſſible they ſhould make any conſiderable defence, when properly attacked.' Hiſt. of the War in Germany, vol. I. p. 111, 112.

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and an able officer, repeatedly and earneſtly ſolicited, to have his conduct examined by a court-martial; but this the king refuſed, though he cauſed the general to be impriſoned, and deprived him even of the command of his regiment. In the courſe of his campaigns ſeveral other inſtances occurred, in which Frederick caſhiered and diſhonoured reſpectable officers, without doing them the juſtice of permitting a court-martial to inveſtigate their conduct [L].

[L] An intelligent and well informed writer ſays, 'The 'governor of Schweidnitz was ſent priſoner to Spandau, for 'having yielded to general Laudohn, although he had defended 'the place with great gallantry, and with a handful of men, 'comparatively ſpeaking, his garriſon not having been ſufficient 'to line the ramparts. The governor of Glatz was treated in 'a ſtill more ungenerous manner on a ſimilar occaſion. The 'king ordered him to be arreſted, and conveyed in a common 'waggon, eſcorted by two huſſars, beyond the outpoſts of his 'army, forbidding him, at the ſame time, on pain of death, 'ever to ſet foot again in his dominions. This officer, who 'was a native of Piedmont, had been originally a private 'ſoldier in the guards; and, after forty years ſervice, had riſen 'by his merit to the rank of major-general. His education, 'and the manner in which he had ſpent the greateſt part of his 'life, had probably not furniſhed him with enough of that ſort 'of knowledge, which is requiſite to make a good general; but 'he was certainly a brave and worthy officer, and the king 'treated him with too much ſeverity.'—'His Pruſſian majeſty, 'though a great man in ſo many other reſpects, is but a very 'indifferent engineer. There are hardly any of his ſtrong 'places capable of withſtanding a regular attack, made by 'troops that are experienced in this branch of the military art.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c, of the King of Pruſſia, p. 42, 43.

EARLY

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EARLY in the courſe of the preſent year, the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, France, Sweden, and Poland, agreed ſeverally and jointly to offer propoſals towards renewing that negociation for peace, which had been broken off at the beginning of the year 1760. Declarations were accordingly made by thoſe courts, and delivered to the court of London; counter-declarations of a pacific nature were afterwards made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia; and Augſburgh, as the ſituation moſt commodious for the powers at war, was appointed for the congreſs [206]. A ſeparate negociation was alſo afterwards ſet on foot, in order to ſettle the particular points in diſpute between the courts of Great Britain and France; and ſome propoſals were made tending to a ſeparate peace between thoſe courts. But none of theſe overtures towards peace were productive of any immediate effect; and the propoſed congreſs at Augſburgh never was aſſembled.

IN conſequence of having made themſelves maſters of Schweidnitz, the Auſtrians obtained ſuch a footing in Sileſia, that they obliged the king of Pruſſia to retreat towards Breſlaw, and ſecured winter-quarters for themſelves in that province. General Platen alſo found it impracticable to afford to Colberg the aſſiſtance that was intended; he was attacked by a ſuperior body of the Ruſſians, and obliged to retire to Stettin, having

[206] Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 3, 4.

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previouſly loſt part of his convoy; and after a ſiege of ſix months, Colberg ſurrendered to the Ruſſians, on the ſixteenth of December, the governor, colonel Heyde, and the garriſon, by whom the place had been very gallantly defended, being made priſoners of war [207]. But previouſly to this event, a treaty had been concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the Ottoman porte; and Frederick was not without hopes of being able to engage the Turks ſo much in his favour, as to find ſuch employment for the Ruſſians, as might prevent them from making any farther inroads into his dominions.

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year, the baron Wargotſch, a Sileſian nobleman, who came often to the Pruſſian camp, where he was well received by Frederick and his officers, is ſaid to have formed a ſcheme to deliver the king into the hands of the Auſtrians. He informed himſelf, with great exactneſs, of every thing that paſſed in the camp; and acquainted the Auſtrians, that the king rode out every day to reconnoitre, attended only by three or four perſons on horſeback; and he appointed with the Auſtrian general a day, and an hour, for carrying him off. The baron had choſen, for his aſſociate in this ſcheme, the curate of the village in which the king reſided. The curate uſed to carry the letters to the Auſtrian poſts.

[207] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 143, 144. Annual Regiſter, vol. IV. p. 36.

The

The affair was discovered by means of one of the baron's own servants, who, from circumstances, or what he had over-heard, between his master and the curate, had collected some knowledge of the design. One day, just as the king was getting on horseback, this servant of the baron came and threw himself at his majesty's feet, presenting him at the same time with a letter, which his master had ordered him to deliver to the curate. "Sire," said he, "I believe this letter conderns your ma-"jesty." Frederick opened the letter, and perceiving in it clear indications of the conspiracy, he immediately sent to reconnoitre if there was really an ambuscade at the place mentioned; and the moment he was convinced of the fact, he dispatched an officer, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, with orders to arrest the baron, who, under pretence of business, was gone to sleep at one of his seats, two miles from the king's quarters. The officer, who knew nothing of the king's motives for issuing this order, delivered it with much politeness to the baron, who received it with great seeming tranquility and good humour, and desired the officer to breakfast with him. Wargotsch acted his part with so much dexterity and ease, that the officer permitted him to retire for a few minutes into another apartment. From that apartment, he made his escape out of a window; and, having immediately mounted a horse, he had got to a considerable distance, before the

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officer ſuſpected his eſcape. It was then impoſſible to overtake him. When the king was informed, on the officer's return, of his ill ſucceſs, he only ſaid to him, with great coolneſs, "Get "back to your regiment; you are a very aukward "fellow; and I ſhall certainly never again em"ploy you in ſuch a commiſſion [208]."

ON the ninth of October, 1761, Mr. WILLIAM PITT, ſecretary of ſtate to the king of Great Britain, reſigned his employment. By that event, which had been produced by court cabals, one of the moſt illuſtrious miniſters of ſtate that ever exiſted, was removed from his office, in order to make way for a man, as prime-miniſter, who was the perſonal favourite of the king, but who had never exhibited the leaſt trace of political ability. The war, however, continued to be carried on for ſome time, after the removal of Mr. PITT from power; and ſome of the plans, which had been previouſly formed by that great ſtateſman, were ſucceſsfully proſecuted. But a peace was afterwards concluded at Paris, in 1763, extremely inadequate to the very brilliant ſucceſſes that had been obtained on the part of Great Britain; and in the negociation of which no proper regard was paid, either to the honour, or to the intereſt of the nation.

[208] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 151, 152, 153. Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, &c. p. 15, 16, 17.

CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1762.

AN event took place early in the year 1762, which was highly favourable to the affairs of the king of Pruſſia. This was the death of Elizabeth, empreſs of Ruſſia, who was ſucceeded by her nephew, Peter III. The late empreſs had an inveterate perſonal diſlike to the king of Pruſſia, who by her death was delivered from one of his moſt formidable enemies; for her ſucceſſor entertained very different ſentiments reſpecting the Pruſſian monarch [M]. He even profeſſed the higheſt admiration for the great qualities of Frederick; and expreſſed at the ſame time the ſtrongeſt deſire that a general peace might immediately take place. He cauſed a memorial to be delivered to the Imperial, French, and Swediſh miniſters, reſident at Peterſburgh, on the twenty-third of February, 1762, in which he declared, that 'in order 'to the eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to

[M] The new emperor, ſome years before his acceſſion, as duke of Holſtein, had accepted of the Pruſſian order of the black eagle. In alluſion to this circumſtance, and to the large Ruſſian army which was employed againſt the king of Pruſſia at the time of Peter's acceſſion, Frederick introduced the following paſſage, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, then the Britiſh miniſter at the Ruſſian court: 'Is not this (meaning the emperor) a very 'extraordinary knight, to feed 80,000 men at my expence? 'He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If 'every knight of the garter did the ſame, your England (Eng-'land though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you 'would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell 'him it is againſt the inſtitutes of the order, for a knight to eat 'up his grand maſter.' Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 13.

'ſacrifice

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'sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of 'Russia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts 'would, on their parts, equally prefer the restora- 'tion of peace and tranquility, to the advantages 'which they might expect from the continuance of 'the war; but which they could not obtain, but 'by a continuance of the effusion of human 'blood [209].' On the sixteenth of March following, a suspension of hostilities was concluded between the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia; on the fifth of May, they entered into a treaty of peace and alliance; and Colberg, and the other places which had been taken by the Russians, were restored to the Prussian monarch. The new czar also agreed to join his troops to those of Frederick, in order to act against those powers who had been in alliance with Russia, but who were enemies to the king of Prussia. He even wore the Prussian uniform, which gave great offence to his subjects. He likewise exasperated the Russian soldiers, by speaking of them with contempt; and made enemies of the Russian clergy, by seizing great part of their revenues, and issuing an order, that they should no longer be distinguished by wearing their beards. Some of his troops were directed to proceed for Poland, to act under the orders of the king of Prussia [N]; but before they could afford him

[209] Annual Register, vol. V. p. 13.

[N] Some of the Russian troops joined the Prussian army, and were exercised by the king. It is said, that these new allies were

him any effectual assistance, a revolution took place in Russia, by the deposition of Peter III. and his death, which almost immediately followed. His wife and successor, Catharine II. afterwards declared to the Prussian minister at the court of Petersburgh, "That she was resolved to observe "inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace "concluded under the preceding reign [o]; but "that

were very well treated. They were not suffered to want brandy; and the Cossacks called the Prussians comrades, and crowded round the king, in order to take a view of him. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, tom. II. p. 155.

[o] It is said, that on the accession of the new empress, it was intended to renew the war with the king of Prussia, who had corresponded with the late emperor, and was suspected to have given him advice unfavourable to the empress. One of Peter's schemes was, to put the empress into a monastery; and this project, as well as others, he had communicated to the king of Prussia. The very next day after the czar's death, some of the Russian senators examined, in the presence, as we are informed, of the empress, the letters which he had received from the king of Prussia. But they were found to contain advice of a very different nature from what had been expected. In these letters the king advised the emperor, to stay in Russia, and not to come into Germany; to look upon his subjects as his children, and to give them no just cause of complaint; to make no alterations in the fundamental laws of the country; to maintain the church, religion, and clergy of the empire, in the same state in which he found them; and to treat the empress with moderation, and live with her as his wife. On the perusal of these letters, the empress, we are told, burst into tears of gratitude; and declared, that she must either be a monster, or bear to the king of Prussia as much affection, as she had hatred to

him

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" that ſhe had thought proper, nevertheleſs, to " order back to Ruſſia, by the neareſt roads, all " her troops in Sileſia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania [210]."

Soon after peace was concluded between the late emperor of Ruſſia and the Pruſſian monarch, a peace was alſo concluded between the king and the Swedes. But on the very next day after orders arrived at the Pruſſian camp, for the Ruſſians to ſeparate themſelves from the Pruſſian army, and to return into their own country, Frederick attacked the Auſtrian army under mareſchal Daun. As he could no longer derive any advantage from the arms of the Ruſſians, he endeavoured at leaſt to profit by their appearance in his camp; and to attack the Auſtrians before they could receive any news of the recall of the Ruſſian troops. The right wing of the Auſtrian army occupied the heights of Buckerſdorff in Sileſia; and Frederick drove them from that eminence, and from ſome neighbouring villages, in which they were advantageouſly poſted. He killed and wounded about a thouſand of the Auſtrians, and took one thouſand priſoners, together with fourteen pieces of cannon. This ſucceſs was not owing only to the ſpirit of the king's attack, but alſo to an apprehenſion of the Auſtrians, that the whole united army of the

him before. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 345, 346. Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 22. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 160.

[210] Hiſt. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 438.

Pruſſians

Pruſſians and Muſcovites was on the point of engaging them: ſo that Frederick made ſome uſe of his new allies, even in the very moment in which they were deſerting him [211]. This affair was, indeed, only an attack of poſts; but its conſequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialiſts with Schweidnitz was thereby entirely cut off. Frederick immediately prepared to beſiege that important place, and the trenches were opened on the eighteenth of July. But a very obſtinate defence was made by the Auſtrians; and Schweidnitz did not ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia till the ninth of October. The Auſtrians had two thouſand men killed in the ſiege; and the Pruſſians loſt upwards of three thouſand [212]. The remainder of the garriſon, which conſiſted of about eight thouſand men, were made priſoners of war; and a great part of theſe were drowned at the mouth of the Oder, on their paſſage to Konigſberg, which was deſtined for the place of their confinement.

WHILE the king of Pruſſia was thus ſucceſsful againſt the Auſtrians in Sileſia, his brother, who commanded in Saxony, was chiefly employed in acting on the defenſive. This, however, was not agreeable to his own inclinations: for prince Henry, who had great courage, and great military talents, was extremely deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf. But the greateſt part of the army in Saxony, under

[211] Annual Regiſter, ubi ſupra, p. 23.

[212] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 397.

his

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his command, conſiſted of garriſon regiments, and free battalions, which were conſidered as the worſt troops in the Pruſſian ſervice. He had, however, contrived, from the beginning of the campaign, by the judicious choice of his poſts, to keep the Auſtrian general, the prince of Stolberg, at bay, though the latter was greatly ſuperior to him in the number of his troops. The king aſſured his brother, from time to time, that the moment it would be proper for him to act offenſively, he would ſend him a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops. But Henry was piqued at being obliged to act ſo long on the defenſive; and at length manœuvred with ſo much ſkill, that the Auſtrian general ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into a ſituation, which the prince thought to be a very advantageous one for him, if a battle ſhould take place. Of this the prince acquainted the king, and requeſted an immediate reinforcement. The meſſenger returned, in twenty hours, with intelligence, that Frederick was advancing in perſon to his aſſiſtance, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops [213]. But prince Henry was unwilling to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy, and was probably deſirous of gaining a victory before the arrival of his brother; who, he knew, would carry off moſt of the honour, if he arrived in time. Without waiting, therefore, for

[213] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the king of Pruſſia, p. 62, 63.

the

the promiſed ſuccours, he attacked the united army of Imperialiſts and Auſtrians, commanded by the prince of Stolberg, near FREYBERG, on the twenty-ninth of October. The action commenced at day-break, and laſted till two in the afternoon, when the Auſtrians and Imperialiſts were totally defeated. Five thouſand priſoners were taken by the Pruſſians, together with thirty pieces of cannon; and the Auſtrians were obliged to abandon the town of Freyberg [214]. The king himſelf arrived the day after the battle; and though the victory, which prince Henry had obtained, tended to facilitate a peace, it is ſaid, that Frederick did not eaſily forgive his brother for fighting before his arrival, which he ſtated to have been an act of imprudence [215]. CHAP. XXXI. A. D. 1762.

SOON after the battle of Freyberg, a ſtrong detachment of Pruſſian troops, under the command of general Kleiſt, made an irruption into Bohemia, where they raiſed contributions almoſt to the very gates of Prague, and deſtroyed ſeveral Auſtrian magazines, particularly at Saatz, which were valued at nine hundred thouſand florins [216]. About this time the king of Pruſſia artfully propoſed to the court of Vienna, a ſuſpenſion of arms between their reſpective armies in Saxony and Sileſia, dur-

[214] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 398. London Magazine, vol. XXXI. p. 610.

[215] Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra.

[216] Entick, ubi ſupra, p. 399.

ing

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ing the winter. The propoſal was readily acceded to on the part of the empreſs-queen; after which the Auſtrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter-quarters, where they expected to enjoy ſome repoſe. But it ſoon appeared, that this impolitic and partial truce was extremely pernicious to the Auſtrian cauſe: for it had not provided for the ſecurity either of the immediate dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, or of thoſe members of the empire which were the moſt attached to its intereſts. Accordingly when the Auſtrian and Imperial troops had entered their winter-quarters, a large body of Pruſſian troops was aſſembled, under the command of general Kleiſt, who marched directly into Franconia, where they began immediately to raiſe heavy contributions, and compelled great numbers of men to enter into the Pruſſian ſervice. In the mean time, the Imperial and Auſtrian generals could neither aſſemble their troops, nor march to protect the empire, till they had received freſh orders from Vienna. The Pruſſian troops, therefore, ſpread themſelves, without oppoſition, over almoſt the whole circle of Franconia, where they raiſed great ſums of money. From the free city of Nuremberg alone they demanded three millions of crowns, part of which was paid, and they carried off ſome of the magiſtrates as hoſtages for the reſt [217]. Even the city of Ratiſbon itſelf began to apprehend a viſit; and, therefore, applied to baron

[217] London Mag. vol. XXXI. p. 679, 680.

Plotho,

Plotho, the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet, to know from him what they had to expect. The baron frankly told the magiſtrates, that if they refuſed to pay the contribution, which his maſter's troops ſhould demand, when they came to pay them a viſit, they muſt expect to be compelled by force. But, ſoon after the Pruſſians had entered Franconia, a declaration was made by the Pruſſian miniſter at the diet to the following purport: 'That as all 'his maſter's declarations to the ſtates of the em-'pire had produced no effect, he was now reſolved 'to employ more effectual means to make them 'recall their troops from the Auſtrian army; and 'was accordingly marching three different corps 'into the empire; one of which had already en-'tered Franconia, the ſecond was taking the route 'of Swabia, and the third would paſs through 'Bavaria: that they would every where conduct 'themſelves according to the exigencies of war; 'but, as to the diet of the empire, he had orders 'to give aſſurances, that it ſhould not be in the 'leaſt diſturbed [218].'

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ABOUT this time a body of Pruſſian troops had laid the greater part of the city of Egra, in Bohemia, in aſhes, by a ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets; and in the ſeveral predatory expeditions of the Pruſſian troops at this period, they are ſup-

[218] Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 400.

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posed to have levied a sum equivalent to a million sterling. Many of the princes and states of Germany, therefore, found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages [219]; so that, in a short time, all the troops, which composed the army of the empire, began their march for the countries of their respective sovereigns [220].

On the third of November, 1762, preliminary articles of peace were signed at Fontainbleau between the kings of Great Britain, France, and Spain [P]; and as the court of Vienna was now

[219] Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 439.

[220] Entick, ut supra, p. 401.

[P] The definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain, France, and Spain, was concluded at Paris on the tenth of February, 1763. It gave great offence to a large part of the English nation, who justly considered it as extremely inadequate to the very brilliant successes that had been obtained by the arms of Great Britain. Count Algarotti, who, as a foreigner, may be regarded as an impartial judge, has taken some pains to shew, that the terms were much less advantageous to the British nation than they ought to have been. After stating such terms as he thinks ought to have been insisted on, he says, 'If that noble 'structure, the Temple of Peace, had been raised on such 'foundations as these, the English might have spoken in a 'loftier tone at Versailles, and could not have been said to have 'made war like lions, and peace like lambs. At any rate it 'were to have been wished, for the prosperity of England, that 'he who had so nobly conducted the war, should also have been 'the person to adjust the peace.' Letters military and political, p. 163.

deserted

deſerted by Ruſſia, and by the army of the empire, and the court of France was ſolicitous for the eſtabliſhment of peace, the empreſs-queen was induced, though reluctantly, to enter into a negociation with the king of Pruſſia. M. Hertzberg acted as Frederick's miniſter on this occaſion; and a treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between the empreſs-queen and the king of Pruſſia, at the caſtle of Hubertſbourg, near Dreſden, on the fifteenth of February, 1763. A treaty of peace was alſo concluded between the Pruſſian monarch and the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and that unfortunate prince was again reſtored to his electoral dominions [q]. But no indemnification was made to him for the uſurpation of his dominions, or for the numerous depredations, and acts of violence, injuſtice, and cruelty, that had been committed upon his ſubjects.

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By the treaty of HUBERTSBOURG, it was agreed, that there ſhould be henceforth an inviolable and perpetual peace, and ſincere union, and perfect friendſhip, between the apoſtolic empreſs-queen on the one part, and the king of Pruſſia on the other,

[q] The king of Poland arrived at his palace at Dreſden, accompanied by his prime miniſter, count Bruhl, on the thirtieth of April, 1763; but he did not long ſurvive his reſtoration to his dominions; for he died on the fifth of October following. He was ſucceeded, as elector of Saxony, by his eldeſt ſon, prince Frederick, who alſo died before the expiration of the year.

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their heirs and ſucceſſors; that every thing that had paſſed, on either ſide, during the war, was to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion; that both parties ſhould renounce all claims on each others dominions or territories; in particular, that the empreſs-queen ſhould renounce all claim to thoſe which were ceded to the king of Pruſſia, by the preliminary articles of Breſlaw, and the treaty of Berlin; that all hoſtilities were entirely to ceaſe on both ſides, from the day of ſigning the treaty; that the empreſs-queen was to withdraw her troops from all the countries and ſtates of Germany, which were not under her dominion, within the ſpace of twenty-one days, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty; and within the ſame term ſhe was to cauſe to be evacuated, and reſtored to the king of Pruſſia, the county of Glatz, and, in general, all the ſtates, countries, towns, places, and fortreſſes, which his Pruſſian majeſty poſſeſſed before the war. The fortreſſes of Glatz, Weſel, and Gueldres, were to be reſtored to him in the ſame ſtate, with regard to the fortifications, in which they were, and with the artillery that was found in them, when they were taken. In the ſame ſpace of time, the king of Pruſſia was to reſtore all the places that he had taken, in Saxony, or elſewhere. It was alſo agreed, that all priſoners of war, of whatever rank, were to be immediately reſtored without ranſom, on payment of the debts contracted

contracted during their captivity; and the ſubjects of either party, forced to enter into the ſervice of the other, were to be diſcharged. The empreſs-queen was to return all the deeds, writings, and letters, belonging to the places reſtored to the king of Pruſſia; and he was to confirm the nominations made by the empreſs-queen during the war to vacant benefices, and to places in the exciſe, in the duchies of Cleves and Gueldres. The two powers likewiſe mutually guarantied the whole of each other's dominions, thoſe belonging to the empreſs-queen out of Germany excepted [221]. The king of Pruſſia at the ſame time agreed, by a ſecret article, to give his ſuffrage for electing the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans [222]; and accordingly that event took place the year following.

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THUS ended, what is called in Germany, THE SEVEN YEARS WAR, between the king of Pruſſia, and the great and powerful princes, with whom he had engaged in hoſtilities. It was one of the moſt ſanguinary wars by which the world has been deſolated; and in which the ſtand that Frederick made againſt ſuch numerous armies, and ſuch a confederacy of potent princes, was a juſt ſubject

[221] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 247, 248, 249. Entick's Hiſt. of the War, vol. V. p. 401, 402, 403.

[222] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. II. p. 176. Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 25, 26.

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of univerſal aſtoniſhment. But the military fame that he thereby acquired, was but a trifling compenſation to his ſubjects, for the evils and calamities that they had ſuffered, and for the great effuſion of human blood which had been produced, by his ambition, and by that jealouſy, which his numerous ſtanding army, and his conduct towards his neighbours, had naturally inſpired.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXII.

*Frederick returns to Berlin, after an abſence of more than ſix years.—Donations to his ſubjects, who had ſuffered during the war.—Viſits his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia.—Rebuilds the towns and villages deſtroyed during the war, and encourages agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.—Receives an ambaſſador from Muſtapha III. emperor of the Turks.—Releaſe of baron Trenck from his confinement at Magdeburg.*

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PEACE being now completely eſtabliſhed, by the treaty of Hubertſbourg, Frederick returned once more to his capital, from which he had been abſent more than ſix years. He arrived at his palace at Berlin, about nine in the evening, on the thirtieth of March, 1763. He was received by the princes of the blood, foreign miniſters, and principal nobility, who were aſſembled on the occaſion. Rejoicings and illuminations were continued in the city for ſeveral days after his arrival; and, on the fourth of April, at eight o'clock at night, he went through moſt of the ſtreets of Berlin, in an open chariot, accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, in order to view the illuminations, and the devices that were invented to celebrate his victories. On this occaſion, as well as at his arrival, he was every where ſaluted

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with loud and general acclamations, of "Long "live our king and father!" To theſe acclamations he replied, "Long live my dear ſubjects, my "beloved children [223]."

Soon after his arrival at Berlin, the king made ſome magnificent preſents to the queen and royal family [224]. He alſo made ſundry liberal donations for the relief of the poor, in thoſe parts of his dominions which had ſuffered, during the war, by the inroads of the enemy. To many of his diſbanded ſoldiers, he diſtributed lands; and he gave them the horſes of his artillery, to aſſiſt them in the cultivation of the lands that he had given them [225].

On the twentieth of May, the king ſet out on a journey to viſit his dominions in Pomerania, Lower Saxony, and Weſtphalia; and in part of his journey he was accompanied by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, with whom, on the fourth of June, he took a view of the ground on which the battle of Minden had been fought. He arrived at Weſel two days after, where he examined the fortifications and the citadel. He then proceeded to Crevelt, and from thence to Cleves; and, on the ſeventeenth of the month, he arrived at Hanover, where he was viſited upon by the two princes of Mecklenburg-

[223] Annual Regiſter, vol. VI. p. 73. Lond. Mag. vol. XXXII. p. 227.

[224] Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIII. p. 197.

[225] Annual Regiſter, vol. V. p. 63.

Strelitz.

Strelitz. From Hanover he proceeded to Brunſwick, and ſoon after returned to Berlin [226]. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

HAVING afterwards viſited the other parts of his dominions, Frederick applied himſelf to the reſtoration of his deſolated provinces, to the re-eſtabliſhment of his finances, and to the encouragement of agriculture. He began to rebuild the towns and villages that had been deſtroyed during the war; and he gave conſiderable ſums to many of his nobility, in order to enable them to pay their debts, and to cultivate their waſte lands; and of this he himſelf gave them an example in the royal demeſnes, by cutting down woods, draining marſhes, and making various improvements. He alſo eſtabliſhed new manufactures, gave directions for making navigable canals, and by ſundry methods endeavoured to extend the commerce of his ſubjects. But notwithſtanding the regard which he paid at this period to the arts of peace, his army ſtill continued to be a prime object of his attention. He ſo completely recruited his regiments, that, after the peace of Hubertſbourg, his army amounted to two hundred thouſand men; and this formidable force he continued conſtantly to maintain [227].

[226] Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIII. p. 309. Lond. Mag. vol. XXXII. p. 340.

[227] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie de Frederick II. Roy de Praſſe, par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 21, 22.

IN

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In the course of this year, Frederick concluded a treaty of alliance with the empress of Russia; and, on the ninth of November, Achmet Effendi, ambassador from Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks, to the king of Prussia, made his public entry into Berlin. He was attended by a troop of Janissaries, and a numerous retinue; and brought a number of fine horses, and other presents, for the king. One design of his embassy was, to compliment the Prussian monarch, upon the glorious peace that he had lately concluded at Hubertsbourg [228]. When Frederick received the Turkish ambassador [R], he dressed with unusual magnificence. It was said, that the diamond buttons on his cloaths, and the hat which he wore on this occasion, were valued at more than five hundred

[228] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, tom. II. p. 177, 178.

[R] Achmet Effendi attended a meeting of the academy of sciences at Berlin, on which occasion M. Formey, the perpetual secretary, made a speech, of which, it is said, the Turk understood nothing. At the same time, a new-invented machine was exhibited to the academy. As the members pressed round the table, on which the machine was placed, the ambassador found himself too much crowded. He, therefore, pushed aside those who stood next him, and jumped upon the table, on which he seated himself in the oriental manner, that he might examine the machine more at his ease. M. Formey had much difficulty to preserve his gravity; and the members of the academy left off examining the machine, and fixed their attention wholly upon the ambassador. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, tom. II. p. 285.

thouſand pounds [229]. This ſeems to have been the laſt time of his appearing with ſuch ſplendour: for, in general, after his ſeven years war, he was more frugal with reſpect to cloaths, than he had been in the former part of his life. From that period, except on this occaſion, he confined himſelf, on great public days, to a ſuit of blue velvet, embroidered with ſilver, and which was never worn but at ſuch times of court magnificence. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

On the twenty-fourth of December, 1763, baron Trenck, who had been impriſoned at Magdeburg for more than nine years, and with ſuch circumſtances of unfeeling cruelty, as will ever reflect extreme diſhonour on the king of Pruſſia, was releaſed from his confinement. This gentleman, who was a native of Konigſberg, in Pruſſia, and deſcended from one of the moſt antient and reſpectable families in that country, had received a commiſſion in the Pruſſian horſe guards, when he was only eighteen years of age, and was treated by the king with great favour and diſtinction [s]. He had

[229] London Mag. vol. XXXII. p. 620.

[s] Baron Trenck was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſberg at the age of thirteen, and made a rapid progreſs in literature. But he had ſtrong paſſions, and had fought three duels when he was about ſixteen. Duelling at that time was very common in that univerſity. In his account of his own life, he informs us, that, at that time, 'the univerſity of Konigſberg was ſtill highly 'privileged. To ſend a challenge was held honourable; and 'this was not only permitted, but would have been difficult to 'prevent,

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had been educated at the univerſity of Konigſberg, where he gave early evidences of genius, and of

'prevent, conſidering the great number of proud, hot-headed, 'and turbulent young nobility from Livonia, Courland, 'Sweden, Denmark, and Poland, who came thither to ſtudy, 'and of whom there were more than five hundred. This 'brought the univerſity into diſrepute, and the abuſe has been 'endeavoured to be remedied.'

In 1742, baron Lottum, who was related to Trenck's mother, and who happened then to be at Konigſberg, perſuaded him to enter into the army, telling him, that he would "find much "better opportunities of ſending challenges, in the army, than "in the univerſity." He very readily complied with the propoſal, and ſet out for Potſdam a few days after. 'On 'the morrow after my arrival,' ſays the baron, 'I was pre-'ſented to the king, as, indeed, I had before been, in the 'year 1740, with the character of being, then, one of the 'moſt hopeful youths of the univerſity. My reception was moſt 'flattering. The juſtneſs of my replies to the queſtions he put, 'my height, figure, and confidence pleaſed him; and I ſoon 'obtained permiſſion to enter as a cadet in his body guards, 'with a promiſe of quick preferment.'—'I had ſcarcely been 'ſix weeks a cadet, before the king took me aſide, one day, 'after the parade, and, having examined me near half an hour, 'on various ſubjects, commanded me to come and ſpeak to him 'on the morrow.

'His intention was, to find whether the accounts, that had 'been given him of my memory, had not been exaggerated; 'and, that he might be convinced, he firſt gave me the names 'of fifty ſoldiers to learn by rote, which I did in five minutes. 'He next repeated the ſubjects of two letters, which I im-'mediately compoſed in French and Latin: the one I wrote, 'the other I dictated. He next ordered me to trace, with 'promptitude, a landſcape from nature, which I executed with

'equal

of courage; but his paſſions were ſomewhat impetuous, and he was extremely high ſpirited. He found the ſervice in which he was employed, in the king's body guard, attended with much fatigue [T]; but

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'equal ſucceſs; and he then gave me a cornet's commiſſion in 'his body guards.

'Each mark of bounty, from the monarch, increaſed an 'ardour already great, inſpired me with gratitude, and the firſt 'of my wiſhes was, to devote my whole life to the ſervice of 'my king and country. He ſpoke to me, as a ſovereign ſhould 'ſpeak, like a father, like one who knew well how to eſtimate 'the gifts beſtowed on me by nature; and perceiving, or rather 'feeling, how much he might expect from me, became at once 'my inſtructor, and my friend. Thus did I remain a cadet 'only ſix weeks, and few Pruſſians can vaunt, under the reign 'of Frederick, of equal good fortune. The king not only 'preſented me with a commiſſion, but equipped me ſplendidly 'for the ſervice. Thus did I ſuddenly find myſelf a courtier, 'and an officer in the fineſt, braveſt, and beſt taught corps in 'Europe.' Life of Baron Frederick Trenck, tranſlated from the German by Mr. Holcroft, vol. I. p. 12—21.

[T] Of Frederick's horſe guards, and the fatigues that they underwent even in time of peace, baron Trenck gives the following account: 'The body guards formed, at this time, a 'model and ſchool for the Pruſſian cavalry: it conſiſted of one 'ſingle ſquadron of men, ſelected from the whole army, whoſe 'uniform was the moſt ſplendid in all Europe. Two thouſand 'rix-dollars were neceſſary to equip an officer: the cuiraſs was 'wholly plated with ſilver; and the horſe furniture and ac'coutrements alone coſt four hundred rix-dollars. This 'ſquadron only conſiſted of ſix officers, and a hundred and 'forty-four men; but there were always fifty or ſixty ſuper'numeraries, and as many horſes; for the king incorporated 'all the moſt handſome men he found in theſe guards. The

'officers

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but he ſtill continued the purſuits of learning, and

'officers were the beſt taught of any the army contained. The 'king himſelf formed them; and afterwards ſent them to in-'ſtruct the cavalry in the manœuvres they had learnt. Their 'riſe was rapid, if they behaved well; but they were broken 'for the leaſt fault, and puniſhed by being ſent to garriſon 'regiments. It was, likewiſe, neceſſary that they ſhould be 'tolerably rich, as well as poſſeſs ſuch talents, as might be 'ſucceſsfully employed, both at court, and in the army.

'There are no ſoldiers in the world, who undergo ſo much 'as this body guard: for, during the time I was in the ſervice 'of Frederick, I often had not eight hours ſleep in eight days. 'Exerciſe began at four in the morning; and experiments were 'made of all the alterations, which the king meant to introduce 'in his cavalry. Ditches of three, four, five, ſix feet, and 'ſtill wider, were leaped, till that ſome one broke his neck; 'hedges, in like manner, were freed, and the horſe ran careers, 'meeting each other full ſpeed, in a kind of liſts of more than 'half a league in length. We had often, in theſe our exerciſes, 'ſeveral men and horſes killed or wounded.

'It happened, more frequently than otherwiſe, that the 'ſame experiments were repeated after dinner with freſh horſes; 'and it was not uncommon, at Potſdam, to hear the alarm 'ſounded twice in a night. The horſes ſtood in the king's 'ſtables; and whoever had not dreſſed, armed himſelf, ſaddled 'his horſe, mounted, and appeared before the palace in eight 'minutes, was put under arreſt for fourteen days. Scarcely 'were the eyes cloſed, before the trumpet again ſounded, to 'accuſtom youth to vigilance. I loſt, in one year, three 'horſes, which had either broken their legs, in leaping ditches, 'or died of fatigue. I cannot give a ſtronger picture of this 'ſervice, than by ſaying, that the body guard loſt more men 'and horſes in one year's peace, than, during the following 'year, they did in two battles.

We

and was introduced to the king's literary friends [v]. CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763.

WHEN the princeſs Ulrica married the prince-royal of Sweden, baron Trenck eſcorted her as far as Stettin; and on this occaſion an amour commenced between him and the princeſs Amelia, another ſiſter of the king [u]. From this lady he often

'We had, at this time, three ſtations. Our ſervice, during 'winter, was at Berlin; where we attended the opera, and all 'public feſtivals. In the ſpring, we were exerciſed at Charlot-'tenburgh; and at Potſdam, or wherever the king went, dur-'ing the ſummer. The ſix officers of the guard dined with the 'king; and, on gala days, with the queen. It may be pre-'ſumed, that there was not, at that time, on earth, a better 'ſchool to form an officer, and a man of the world, than was 'the court of Berlin.' Life, tranſlated by Mr. Holcroft, ut ſupra, p. 15—19.

[v] 'Frederick,' ſays the baron, 'commanded me to viſit 'the literati, whom he had invited to his court. MAUPER-'TUIS, JORDAN, LA METTRIE, and POLLNITZ, were all 'my acquaintance. My days were employed in the duties of 'an officer, and my nights in acquiring knowledge. Pollnitz 'was my guide, and the friend of my heart. My happineſs 'was well worthy being envied. In 1743, I was five feet 'eleven inches in height; and Nature had endowed me with 'every requiſite to pleaſe. I lived, as I vainly imagined, 'without exciting enmity or malice; and my mind was wholly 'occupied by the deſire of acquiring well founded fame.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 22.

[u] The baron ſpeaking of this princeſs, though without mentioning her name, ſays, 'To her converſation, to her 'prudence, to the power by which ſhe rivetted my affections 'wholly to herſelf, am I indebted for the improvement and 'poliſhing

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often received conſiderable preſents, which enabled him to live with more ſplendour than his own fortune would have permitted. He attended the king, with the reſt of the guards, into Sileſia and Bohemia, in the campaigns of 1744 and 1745; was made adjutant to the king, and was preſent in the battles of Hohen Friedberg [w] and Sohr, in the former of which he was wounded. But it happened unfortunately for baron Trenck, that he was firſt

'poliſhing of my bodily and mental qualities. She never de-
'ſpiſed, betrayed, or abandoned me, even in the deepeſt of
'my diſtreſs.' Life, ut ſupra, p. 25. He afterwards ſays,
'I lived, at this time, perfectly happy at Berlin, and highly
'eſteemed. The king teſtified his approbation at every oppor-
'tunity; my miſtreſs ſupplied me with more money than I
'could expend; and I was, preſently, the beſt equipped, and
'made the greateſt figure, of any officer in the whole corps.
'The ſtyle in which I lived was remarked; for I had only re-
'ceived from my father's heritage the eſtate of Great Scarlach,
'the rent of which was eight hundred dollars a year; which
'was far from ſufficient to ſupply my then expences. My
'amour, in the mean time, remained a ſecret from my beſt and
'moſt intimate friends. Twice was my abſence from Potſdam
'and Charlottenburg diſcovered, and I was put under arreſt;
'but the king ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſes I made, under
'pretext of having been hunting, and ſmiled as he granted my
'pardon. Never did the days of youth glide away, with
'more apparent ſucceſs, and pleaſure, than during theſe my
'firſt years at Berlin.' Ibid. p. 26, 27.

[w] The baron ſays, that when this battle was about to commence, the king ſaid to his guards, "Prove to-day, my "children, that you are my body-guard, and give no Saxon "quarter." Life, ut ſupra, p. 58.

couſin

couſin to another baron Trenck, who was a famous partiſan in the Auſtrian ſervice; and this relationſhip proved to him a ſource of great calamity. The Auſtrian Trenck, who had no children, and was very wealthy, had written to the mother of the Pruſſian Trenck, that he intended to make her ſon his heir. The Auſtrian Trenck alſo ſent back two horſes belonging to his Pruſſian couſin, which had been taken by the huſſars under his command. Theſe circumſtances excited in the king ſome ſuſpicion of baron Trenck's fidelity; and theſe ſuſpicions were artfully increaſed by an officer of the guards, who had a perſonal animoſity againſt the baron, and who did all he could to injure him. At length, when the Pruſſian troops were in Bohemia, a letter came to the baron, written as from his Auſtrian couſin, and containing ſome overtures to him to enter into the Auſtrian ſervice. This letter he ſuppoſes to have been forged; but he communicated it very frankly to his brother officers; and, as he wrote no anſwer to it, expected from it no ill conſequences. Such uſe, however, was made of it, in order to incenſe the king againſt him, that he was arreſted, deprived of his commiſſion, and impriſoned in the fortreſs of Glatz. He wrote to the king, ſoliciting to be tried by a court martial, and declaring, that he deſired no favour, if any crime could be proved againſt him: but no anſwer was returned. The princeſs Amelia continued to correſpond with him, and expreſſed

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her confidence in his innocence. She alſo condemned the precipitate anger, and unjuſt ſuſpicions, of the king her brother, and ſent the baron a thouſand ducats. After peace was concluded, finding that his impriſonment was ſtill continued, he grew impatient of his confinement [x], and made ſeveral deſperate [y], but unſucceſsful efforts to eſcape. He

[x] He learned afterwards, that, till his attempts to eſcape, the king had condemned him only to a year's impriſonment; but it was given out at Glatz, that he was to be impriſoned for life.

[y] Of one of theſe unſucceſsful, but deſperate attempts, which was made eight days after a former of the ſame nature, he has given himſelf the following account: 'Major Doo came 'to viſit me, accompanied by an officer of the guard, and an 'adjutant. After examining every corner of my chamber, he 'addreſſed me, taxing me with a ſecond crime in endeavouring 'to obtain my liberty; adding, this muſt, certainly, increaſe 'the anger of the king. My blood boiled at the word crime. 'He talked of patience. I aſked, how long the king had con-'demned me to impriſonment? He anſwered, a traitor to his 'country, who has correſponded with the enemy, cannot be 'condemned for a certain time; but muſt depend, for grace 'and pardon, upon the king. At that inſtant, I ſnatched his 'ſword from his ſide, on which my eyes had ſome time been 'fixed, ſprang out of the door, threw the ſentinel from the top 'to the bottom of the ſtairs, paſſed the guard who happened to 'be drawn up before the priſon door to relieve guard, attacked 'them ſword in hand, threw them ſuddenly into ſurprize by 'the manner in which I laid about me, wounded four men, 'made way through the reſt, ſprang over the breaſt-work of the 'ramparts, and, with my ſword drawn in my hand, immediate-'ly leaped this aſtoniſhing height, without receiving the leaſt 'injury.

He at length, however, found means to effectuate his escape, when he had been confined at Glatz seventeen months, being assisted and accompanied by an officer, who was discontented with his situation. They encountered great dangers, and great hardships; and baron Trenck afterwards entered into the Russian service, in which he became a captain of dragoons. Whilst he was in this situation, being at Dantzick, a scheme was formed by the Prussian resident in that city, and some Prussian officers in the recruiting service, to seize him, and convey him forcibly into the Prussian territories. But he having received intimation of the plot, found means completely to defeat it, and treated some of the officers concerned in it with such indignity, that this affair greatly increased the animosity of the king of Prussia against him. Trenck was afterwards advantageously introduced at the

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'injury. I leaped the second wall, with equal safety and good 'fortune. None of their arms were loaded: no one durst leap 'after me; and, in order to pursue, they must go round 'through the town and the gate of the citadel; so that I had 'the start full half an hour. A sentinel, however, in a narrow 'passage, endeavoured to oppose my flight; but I parried his 'fixed bayonet, and wounded him in the face. A second 'sentinel, meantime, came from the outworks, to seize me 'behind, and I, to avoid him, made a spring at the palisa-'does: there I was, unluckily, caught by the foot, and re-'ceived a bayonet wound in my upper lip. Thus entangled, 'they beat me with the butt-end of their musquets, and dragged 'me back to prison, while I struggled and defended myself like 'a man grown desperate.' Life, p. 96—99.'

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court of Peterſburgh, by the friendſhip of general Bernes, miniſter to that court from the court of Vienna, and lord Hyndford, miniſter from the court of Great Britain, both of whom were perſonally acquainted with the baron, when he was in high favour at Berlin. He had ſundry intrigues at Peterſburgh; and, among others, with the counteſs Beſtucheff, wife to the prime-miniſter [z].

THE king of Pruſſia ſuſpected, that Trenck's influence at Peterſburgh was employed to his diſadvantage; and ſome diſhonourable arts were employed by the Pruſſian miniſter to ruin him at that court. Theſe arts were not ſucceſsful; but he afterwards quitted Ruſſia, and entered into the Auſtrian ſervice. In 1754, when he was a captain of Auſtrian cavalry, he happened to be at Dantzick, where the king of Pruſſia's agents, authorized by two of the magiſtrates of Dantzick, who were attended by twenty grenadiers, ſeized him in bed, and conveyed him to the city priſon, from whence he was ſoon after ſent to Berlin [A]. He was afterwards removed to the citadel of Magdeburg,

[z] The baron ſeems not to have improved his morals, or his principles, by his converſations with La Mettrie, Pollnitz, and others of Frederick's favourites at Berlin; but though he was licentious with regard to women, he appears, in other reſpects, to have had an high ſenſe of integrity and honour.

[A] It appears, that a ſhort time before this, intimations had been given at Berlin, by ſome of Trenck's enemies, that he had formed dangerous deſigns againſt the king's own perſon.

where

where he was confined in a dungeon [B], and allowed nothing but a pound and a half of ammunition bread per day, and a jug of water [C]. He was

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[B] He gives the following deſcription of his firſt dungeon: 'My dungeon was in a caſemate, the fore part of which, ſix 'feet wide, and ten feet long, was divided by a party wall. 'In the inner wall were two doors, and a third at the entrance 'of the caſemate itſelf. The window, in the ſeven feet thick 'wall, was ſo ſituated that, though I had light, I could ſee 'neither heaven nor earth: I could only ſee the roof of the 'magazine. Within and without this window were iron bars; 'and, in the ſpace between, an iron grating, ſo cloſe, and ſo 'ſituated, by the riſing of the walls, that it was impoſſible I 'ſhould ſee any perſon within the priſon, or that any perſon 'ſhould ſee me. On the out-ſide was a wooden paliſadoe, ſix 'feet from the wall, by which the ſentinels were prevented from 'conveying any thing to me. I had a matraſs, and a bed-'ſtead, but which was immoveably ironed to the floor; ſo that 'it was impoſſible I ſhould drag it, and ſtand up to the window.' Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 1, 2.

[C] At this period of his confinement, he ſuffered more from hunger, than from any other cauſe. 'From my youth,' ſays he, 'I had always a good appetite;—and it is impoſſible that 'I ſhould deſcribe the exceſs of tortures that, during eleven 'months, I felt from ravenous hunger. I could every day 'have eaſily devoured ſix pounds of bread; and every twenty-'four hours, after having received and ſwallowed my ſmall 'portion, I continued as hungry as before I began, yet muſt 'wait another twenty-four hours for a new morſel. How 'willingly would I have ſigned a bill of exchange for a thou-'ſand ducats, on my property at Vienna, only to have ſatiated 'my hunger on dry bread.'—'Some have ſuppoſed, that to 'eat little might become habitual; but I have experienced the 'contrary. My hunger increaſed every day; and, of all the

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was not at this time put in irons; but having made some extraordinary efforts to escape, and these efforts being discovered, the king, when he came to a review at Magdeburg, went and visited a fort there called the Star-fort, where he commanded a new cell to be made for the confinement of Trenck, "prescribing himself," as the baron says, "the kind of irons by which he was to be "secured [330]."

Of his second dungeon, to which he was removed as soon as it was ready, he has given the following description: 'In breadth it was about 'eight feet; in length ten.'—'In a corner was a 'seat, four bricks broad, on which I might sit, 'and recline against the wall. Opposite the ring 'to which I was fastened, the light was admitted 'through a semicircular aperture, one foot high, 'and two in diameter. This aperture ascended to 'the centre of the wall, which was six feet thick, 'and at this central part was a close iron grating, 'from which, outward, the aperture descended, 'and its two extremities were again secured by 'strong iron bars. My dungeon was built in the

'trials of fortitude my whole life has afforded, this, of eleven 'months, was the most bitter.'—'Daily, about noon, once in 'twenty-four hours, my pittance of bread and water was 'brought. The keys of all the doors were kept, by the governor: 'the inner door was not opened, but my bread and water were 'delivered through an aperture.' Life, ut supra, vol. II. p. 3—6.

[330] Life, translated by Mr. Holcroft, vol. II. p. 27.

'ditch

'ditch of the fortification, and the aperture, by CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763. 'which the light entered, was ſo covered by the 'wall of the rampart, that, inſtead of finding 'immediate paſſage, the light only gained admiſ-'ſion by reflexion. This, conſidering the ſmall-'neſs of the aperture, and the impediments of 'grating and iron bars, muſt needs make the 'obſcurity great, yet my eyes, in time, became 'ſo accuſtomed to this glimmering, that I could 'ſee a mouſe run. In winter, however, when the 'ſun did not ſhine into the ditch, it was eternal 'night with me. Between the bars and the grat-'ing was a glaſs window, with a ſmall central caſe-'ment, which might be opened to admit air.— 'The name of TRENCK was inſcribed upon the 'wall, and under my feet was a tomb-ſtone, with 'the name of TRENCK alſo cut on it, and carved 'with a death's head. The doors to my dungeon 'were double, of oak, two inches thick: without 'theſe was an open ſpace, or front cell, in which 'was a window, and this ſpace was likewiſe ſhut in 'by double doors. The ditch, in which this 'dreadful den was built, was incloſed on both ſides 'by paliſadoes, twelve feet high, the key of the 'door of which was entruſted to the officer of the 'guard, it being the king's intention to prevent 'all poſſibility of ſpeech, or communication with 'the ſentinels [331].'

[331] Life, p. 34, 35, 36.

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HE has alſo given the following account of the manner in which he was ironed in this new dungeon. 'Enormous chains were fixed to my ancle at one 'end, and at the other to a ring which was in- 'corporated in the wall. This ring was three feet 'from the ground, and only allowed me to move 'about two or three feet to the right and left. 'They next rivetted another huge iron ring, of a 'hand's breadth, round my naked body, to which 'hung a chain, fixed into an iron bar, as thick as 'a man's arm. This bar was two feet in length, 'and at each end of it was a handcuff [232].'—'The 'only motion I had the power to make, was that 'of jumping upward, or ſwinging my arms, to 'procure myſelf warmth. When more accuſtom- 'ed to theſe fetters [D], I was likewiſe capable of 'moving from ſide to ſide, but this pained my 'ſhin-bones [233].'

SPEAKING of the new dungeon to which he was now removed, and of the time of his firſt entrance

[232] Life, p. 31, 32.

[D] In the year 1756, an iron collar was added to his other fetters; and he ſays, that 'the chains that deſcended from the 'neck-collar were obliged to be ſupported firſt with one hand, 'and then with the other; for, if thrown behind, they would 'have ſtrangled me, and, if hanging forward, occaſioned moſt 'exceſſive head-achs.' Ibid. p. 109, 110. Among other barbarities which were exerciſed towards him, one was, ordering the ſentinels to call him every quarter of an hour, and thereby to prevent his ſleeping for any long time together. This inhuman practice was continued four years. Ibid. p. 144.

[233] Ibid. p. 36, 37.

into

into it, he alſo ſays, 'The cell had been finiſhed with lime and plaſter but eleven days, and every body ſuppoſed it would be impoſſible, that I ſhould exiſt in theſe damps above a fortnight. I remained ſix months, continually immerſed in water, that trickled upon me from the thick arches under which I was; and I can ſafely affirm, that, for the firſt three months, I was never dry; yet did I continue in health. I was viſited daily at noon, after relieving guard, and the doors were then obliged to be left open for ſome minutes, otherwiſe the dampneſs of the air put out their candles.

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'THIS was my ſituation, and here I ſat, deſtitute of friend, helpleſsly wretched, preyed on by all the torture of thought, that continually ſuggeſted the moſt gloomy, the moſt dreadful of images. My heart was not yet wholly turned to ſtone, my fortitude was ſunken to deſpondency; my dungeon was the very cave of deſpair; yet was my arm reſtrained, yet was this exceſs of miſery endured. How then may hope be wholly eradicated from the heart of man! My fortitude, after ſome time, began to revive: I glowed with the deſire of convincing the world, that I was capable of ſuffering what man had never ſuffered before; perhaps of, at laſt, emerging from this load of wretchedneſs, triumphant over my enemies [834].'

[834] Life, p. 37, 38.

AFTER

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AFTER his confinement in his new dungeon, the baron was allowed as much bread as he could eat; and notwithſtanding his fetters, he continued to make a variety of aſtoniſhing attempts to effectuate his eſcape [E], and ſome of which were nearly ſucceſsful. When it was diſcovered, that he had found means even to diſencumber himſelf of his chains, a large iron collar was put about his neck, and connected with the chains at his feet by additional heavy links [F]. The whole of his fetters amounted to ſixty-eight pounds weight.

[E] Of theſe different and extraordinary efforts to obtain his liberty, he has given a particular account in the narrative of his life.

[F] In another part of the narrative of his life, he alſo gives an account of his dreſs. 'My hands being fixed,' ſays he, 'and kept aſunder, by an iron bar, and my feet chained to the 'wall, I could neither put on ſhirt nor ſtockings in the uſual 'mode; the ſhirt was therefore tied, and changed once a fort-'night; the coarſe ammunition ſtockings were buttoned on the 'ſides; a blue garment, of ſoldier's cloth, was likewiſe tied 'round me, and I had a pair of ſlippers for my feet. The 'ſhirt was of the army linen; and when I contemplated myſelf 'in this dreſs of a malefactor, chained thus to the wall, in ſuch 'a dungeon, vainly imploring mercy or juſtice, my conſcience 'void of reproach, my heart of guilt; when I reflected on my 'former ſplendour in Berlin and Moſcow, and compared it 'with this ſad, this dreadful reverſe of deſtiny, I was ſunk in 'grief, or rouſed to indignation, that might have hurried the 'greateſt hero, or philoſopher, to madneſs or deſpair. I felt 'what can only be imagined by him, who has ſuffered like me, 'after having, like me, flouriſhed, if ſuch can be found.' Ibid. p. 60, 61.

Though none of his own efforts to obtain his liberty were finally ſucceſsful, they yet greatly contributed to the preſervation both of his health and ſpirits [G]. He did not gain his liberty, till more than

[G] 'Theſe bodily labours,' he ſays, 'theſe continued inventions, and projected plans, to obtain my freedom, preſerved my health. Who would ſuppoſe that a man, fettered as I was, could find means of exerciſing himſelf? By ſwinging my arms, acting with the upper part of my body, and leaping upward, I frequently put myſelf into a ſtrong perſpiration. After thus wearying myſelf, I ſlept ſoundly, and often thought how many generals, obliged to ſupport all the inclemencies of weather, and all the dangers of the field; how many of thoſe who had plunged me into this den of miſery, would have been moſt glad, could they, like me, have ſlept with a quiet conſcience.' Life, vol. II. p. 61, 62.

In another place in the narrative of his life, many parts of which are written with great animation, he ſays, 'I had read much; had lived in, and ſeen, much of the world; vacuity of thought, therefore, I was little troubled with. The former tranſactions of my life, what had happened, and the remembrance of the perſons I had known, I revolved ſo often in my mind, that they became as familiar and connected, as if the events had each been written in the order it occurred. Habit made this mental exerciſe ſo perfect to me, that I could compoſe ſpeeches, fables, odes, ſatires, all which I repeated aloud, and had ſo ſtored my memory with them, that I was enabled, after I had obtained my freedom, to commit to writing two volumes of theſe my priſon labours. Accuſtomed to this exerciſe, days, that would otherwiſe have been days of miſery, appeared but as a moment.—For this I am to thank the induſtrious acquirements of my youth.—Riches, honours, the favours of fortune, may be ſhowered by monarchs upon the moſt worthleſs; but monarchs can give and take, ſay and unſay,

CHAP. XXXII. A. D. 1763. than nine months after the peace of Hubertſbourg, when he obtained his freedom, in conſequence of the application of the Auſtrian ambaſſador [H], having then been impriſoned at Magdeburg more than nine years [I]. He was conveyed out of the Pruſſian

'unſay, raiſe and pull down. Monarchs, however, can neither 'give wiſdom nor virtue. Arbitrary power itſelf, here, and 'before theſe, is foiled. How wiſely has Providence ordain-'ed, that the endowments of induſtry, learning, and ſcience, 'given by ourſelves, cannot be taken from us; while, on the 'contrary, what others beſtow is a fantaſtical dream, from 'which any accident may awaken us. The wrath of Frederick 'could deſtroy legions, and defeat armies; but it could not 'take from me the ſenſe of honour, of innocence, and their 'ſweet concomitant, peace of mind; and could not deprive 'me of fortitude and magnanimity. I defied his power, reſted 'on the juſtice of my cauſe, found in myſelf expedients where-'with to oppoſe him, was at length crowned with conqueſt, 'and came forth, to the world, the martyr of ſuffering virtue." Ibid. p. 72, 73, 74.

[H] Several applications were made by the Auſtrian miniſter to the king of Pruſſia, after the peace of Hubertſbourg, to obtain the baron's liberty; but theſe applications were not complied with, and ſeem not to have been made with much earneſtneſs. At laſt, on a gala-day, the king happening to be in an extraordinary good humour, the queen of Pruſſia, the princeſs Amelia, and the prince-royal, now the reigning king, told the Auſtrian miniſter, that this was a fit opportunity to renew his application in behalf of baron Trenck. He accordingly did ſo, and Frederick conſented to his releaſe; upon which the company expreſſed ſo much joy, that it gave the king offence. Life, ut ſupra, vol. II. p. 247, 248.

[I] Though baron Trenck had great vigour of conſtitution, great ſtrength of body, and much intellectual ability, it is natural

Pruſſian dominions in a covered waggon [K], in which he was conducted to Prague, without being ſuffered



natural to ſuppoſe, that ſo long a confinement, attended with ſuch uncommon ſufferings and hardſhips, muſt have had a conſiderable effect upon him. Accordingly he ſays, in his account of his life, (vol. II. p. 248, 249.) 'For ſome weeks after I 'firſt obtained my freedom, I was generally abſent in mind, 'and deep in thought. This was a habit I had acquired in 'priſon, and the objects of ſight appeared but as the viſions of 'ſleep. I often ſtopped in the ſtreets, ſtared around me, 'doubted my own exiſtence, and bit my finger, in order to 'convince myſelf that I was really awake and alive.'

When he was afterwards at Vienna, he was for ſome time confined by a fit of illneſs, and ſpeaking of his going abroad, after his recovery, he ſays, 'Walking round the ramparts of 'Vienna, having recovered from my ſickneſs, the vivifying 'ſpring, and the broad expanſe of heaven, inſpired a conſciouſ-'neſs of preſent freedom, and of pleaſure indeſcribable. I 'heard the morning ſong of the lark. My heart palpitated, 'my pulſe quickened, and the blood trickled through my veins 'with delight: for I felt that I was a man, and I recollected, 'that I was not in chains. Happen, ſaid I, what may, I fear 'not futurity, ſo long as my feet, my will, and my heart, are 'free, and, like yonder lark, I can remove from land to land. 'My ſoul poured forth its thankfulneſs for this conſciouſneſs of 'freedom, and I determined to fly Vienna, and to ſeek ſome 'corner of the world, where virtue has nothing to fear from the 'tongues of ſlanderers, the commands of courts, or the arbi-'trary will of monarchs.' Ibid. p. 250, 251.

[K] Though he was not permitted to ſpeak to any perſon in the town of Magdeburg, after his releaſe, he was viſited in the citadel by the officers of the garriſon, and received many congratulations on his obtaining his liberty. 'How much room 'for reflexion,' ſays he, 'did this ſcene afford! My intrinſic 'worth

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suffered to speak to any person upon the road; and from Prague he immediately proceeded to Vienna [L].

I HAVE

'worth then, and twenty-four hours before, when in prison, 'was the same; yet, how wonderful an alteration in the car-'riage and countenance of those by whom I had been so strictly 'guarded! I was treated with friendship, distinction, atten-'tion, and flattery. And why? Because those fetters had 'dropped off, which I had never justly borne. Oh World! 'what art thou? What, indeed, in despotic states! What is 'merit, what virtue, where arbitrary power disposes of the 'fate of men?' Life, vol. II. p. 212, 213.

[L] He was much dissatisfied, and with great reason, at the treatment which he received at the court of Vienna. He was even kept for some time in confinement in that city, it being given out, that he had threatened the life of the king of Prussia; and the court of Vienna was at that time desirous of being on good terms with the Prussian monarch, on account of the election of a king of the Romans, which was then nearly approaching. He was afterwards released, and made a major in the Austrian service. But he was prevented from succeeding to the greatest part of the ample fortune which should have descended to him from the Austrian baron Trenck, who was now dead, of whom he was the nearest surviving relation, and who had also left him his heir by will. This was effected on various pretences, in consequence of which he was involved in many tedious and expensive law-suits. But the principal reason appears to have been, his refusal to embrace the Romish religion; and on this account the influence of the Popish clergy, and particularly of some of the Jesuits at Vienna, was greatly exerted against him. As he was born in the year 1726, he was in his thirty-eighth year when he obtained his liberty. In 1765, he married a lady of good family at Aix-la-Chapelle, and by whom he had eleven children. He resided some years at Aix-la-Chapelle;

I HAVE dwelt the longer on the caſe of baron Trenck, becauſe the circumſtances of his life are ſingular and curious, and the treatment, which he received from the king of Pruſſia, can with no propriety be omitted in a hiſtory of that monarch's life. It ſhould be remembered, in conſidering the caſe of this gentleman, that the ſufferings which

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la-Chapelle; during part of which time he ſeems chiefly to have ſupported himſelf by his writings; for he had been deprived of his paternal inheritance in Pruſſia, and appears not to have derived much advantage from his Auſtrian inheritance. His temper was naturally generous; and, when poſſeſſed of money, he parted from it with great readineſs and liberality. He publiſhed a news-paper at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a periodical work, intitled, "The Friend of Men," together with ſome other performances. The freedom of his writings gave much offence to many of the Popiſh clergy, and alſo to ſome other perſons. In the courſe of his travels, after his releaſe from Magdeburg, he viſited Hungary, and was extremely well received by the Hungarian nobility. With a view of increaſing his income, he ſent large quantities of Hungarian wine into England, France, Holland, and the empire; and in order to eſtabliſh a trade of this kind, he made a journey into England. He was accompanied by a young man, who was brother to his wife, and who ſeems to have acted as his agent. The baron was reſpectfully and hoſpitably entertained by many perſons of rank in England; but he was unfortunate in his commercial connexions in London. He was defrauded of wine to a large amount; and this untoward circumſtance, which was probably rendered more prejudicial to him than it might otherwiſe have been, by the warmth of his temper, and his ignorance of the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms, has led him to throw out ſome unjuſt, and ill founded reflections, on the Engliſh laws, and Engliſh nation in general.

were

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were inflicted upon him were without any trial, either civil or military; and his innocence of any criminal correſpondence with the Auſtrians, appears now to be univerſally believed throughout the Pruſſian dominions, and even at the Pruſſian court [M]. The caſe, indeed, of baron TRENCK may be conſidered as affording a ſtriking proof, that deſpotic power ought never to be intruſted to any man, however ſplendid his abilities. Notwithſtanding Frederick's uncommon ſagacity and penetration, he appears in this affair to have been totally deceived; and, notwithſtanding his pretences to juſtice and humanity, he acted, in this inſtance, like the moſt ſavage and unfeeling tyrant. It is not in the power of language, to cenſure his conduct in this tranſaction with too much ſeverity, or to expreſs too much indignation, at this exhibition of cool, premeditated, unrelenting barbarity.

[M] Since the acceſſion of the preſent king, Frederick William, baron Trenck has been introduced at the Pruſſian court, and extremely well received. The king himſelf had an interview, and a long converſation with him; and he appeared to be highly reſpected, by the Pruſſian court, and nation in general, for the ſignal fortitude with which he had endured his long, unmerited, and extraordinary ſufferings. He regained poſſeſſion of his eſtate in Pruſſia; and the king gave one of his ſons a commiſſion in the Pruſſian ſervice. The baron has alſo another ſon in the Auſtrian ſervice.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Frederick's letter to Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, on his elevation to the throne of Poland.—He viſits the duchy of Sileſia, and makes ſundry new regulations in different parts of his dominions—Eſtabliſhes ſeveral beneficial inſtitutions.—Receives a viſit from the emperor at Neiſs, in Sileſia.—Erects a new palace near Potſdam, and a great number of new buildings in that city, and at Berlin.—His prejudice againſt German artiſts.*

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AS Auguſtus, king of Poland, elector of Saxony, died ſoon after his reſtoration to his electoral dominions, count Staniſlaus Poniatowſki was elected king of Poland in his room, in the year 1764. The king of Pruſſia exerted his intereſt to promote the election of this prince; and, after that event had taken place, he wrote a letter to the new king, which contained the following paſſages:

'YOUR majeſty muſt reflect, that as you enjoy 'a crown by election, and not by deſcent, the 'world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's 'actions, than of thoſe of any other potentate in 'Europe; and it is but reaſonable. The latter 'being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more 'is looked for (though much more is to be wiſhed) 'from him, than what men are endowed with in 'common.

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'common. But from a man exalted, by the 'voice of his equals, from a ſubject to a king, 'from a man voluntarily elected to reign over thoſe 'by whom he was choſen, every thing is expected 'that can poſſibly deſerve and adorn a crown. 'Gratitude to his people is the firſt great duty of 'ſuch a monarch; for to them alone (under Provi-'dence) he is indebted that he is one. A king, 'who is ſo by birth, if he acts in a manner deroga-'tory to his ſtation, is a ſatire only on himſelf; 'but an elected one, who behaves inconſiſtently 'with his dignity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his 'ſubjects. Your majeſty, I am ſure, will pardon 'this warmth. It is the effuſion of the ſincereſt 'regard. The amiable part of the picture is not 'ſo much a leſſon of what you ought to be, as a 'prophecy of what your majeſty will be [235].'

In the month of Auguſt, this year, Frederick made a journey into Sileſia, accompanied by his brother prince Henry [236]. The deſign of this excurſion appears to have been, to make ſuch obſervations relative to the ſtate of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, as would the better enable him to make proper regulations for the government of the province. In the courſe of the year, he alſo made ſome new re-

[235] Annual Regiſter, vol. VII. p. 14. Gent. Mag. vol. XXXIV. p. 459, 460.

[236] Gent. Mag. ubi ſupra, p. 446.

gulations

gulations in his dominions, with reſpect to ſchools, and the police [237]. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1765.

In 1765, the king eſtabliſhed an office of inſurance at Berlin; an inſtitution which, he juſtly ſuppoſed, might be very beneficial to his ſubjects. The letters patent for eſtabliſhing this office were to be in force for thirty years; during which time no other inſurance office was to be ſet on foot in any of the Pruſſian dominions [238]. About this time Frederick alſo eſtabliſhed "the Military "Academy" at Berlin [N]. He likewiſe founded

[237] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 77.

[238] Annual Regiſter, vol. VIII. p. 68.

[N] Of this inſtitution the following account has been given: 'The MILITARY ACADEMY is agreeably ſituated on the 'banks of the Sprey, oppoſite to the royal palace. In this 'ſchool, which is under the wiſeſt and beſt regulations, fifteen 'young gentlemen, ſelected from the corps of noble cadets, are 'maintained and educated at the king's expence. Their dreſs, 'which is a plain uniform, conſiſts of a blue coat, and yellow 'waiſtcoat and breeches, with white buttons. To every three 'ſtudents an old, ſenſible, and experienced officer is appointed 'as governor, to be conſtantly near his pupils, and preſide over 'their education. The three pupils ſleep together in the ſame 'chamber, and have a lacquey, in the livery of the houſe, for 'their attendant. The manner in which theſe young gentlemen 'are educated, is admirably calculated to render them uſeful 'members of ſociety, and to inſpire them with notions ſuited 'to their birth: for they are uſually of the beſt families. They 'are inſtructed in all the living languages, and in the different 'ſciences, by excellent maſters or profeſſors, who are generally 'members of the academy of ſciences. Each ſtudent has a 'monthly allowance of nine crowns for pocket-money. Their

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ed another inſtitution called "the School of "Noble Cadets [o]," and an "Orphan-house,"

'governors are to take care, that this money is not expended 'improperly. In winter, they go in a body twice a week to 'the French comedy; in fine weather, they make excurſions 'into the country; one or two of their governors are always of 'theſe parties. Theſe gentlemen, likewiſe, take it in turn to 'attend the ſtudents to the riding-houſe, and in their other 'exerciſes. All the governors and ſtudents dine together in a 'large hall; and the management of the houſe is entruſted to a 'privy-counſellor, who acts under the direction of a lieutenant-'general. This eſtabliſhment is ſaid to coſt his majeſty forty-'five thouſand crowns annually. But, beſides the young gen-'tlemen who are educated in this manner at the king's expence, 'fifteen others are admitted, whoſe parents pay eight hundred 'crowns per annum for each to the director. Theſe live, and 'are educated, preciſely in the ſame way as thoſe who are 'maintained at the king's expence; and no one can be admitted 'on this footing without his majeſty's expreſs permiſſion.' Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 43, 44, 45.

[o] 'The SCHOOL OF NOBLE CADETS, though in ſome 'reſpects it may be uſeful, is by no means equal to the military 'academy. This ſchool, which is an old building, built in 'the form of a circus, was originally a theatre for the combats 'of wild beaſts, a barbarous diverſion much in vogue in Ger-'many. They have contrived to form apartments in it, for the 'reception of three hundred and fifty cadets, the greater part of 'whom come from the remoter provinces, particularly Pome-'rania, which ſwarms with poor nobility. Theſe cadets are 'fed in a coarſe manner, and clothed like common ſoldiers. 'Their education is altogether military. They are taught to 'read and write, and are likewiſe inſtructed in mathematics 'and the languages. A few old invalids are appointed to 'ſuperintend

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'houſe [P],' at Potſdam. He alſo eſtabliſhed an Eaſt India company at Embden, with liberty to trade

'ſuperintend their education; but as theſe governors are ſeldom 'men of very enlarged ideas; the ſtudents cannot profit much 'by their inſtructions, unleſs it be in the manual exerciſe, 'which they are taught on certain days of the week, when they 'are formed into companies for this purpoſe on the parade. 'The king allows ſix crowns, per month, for the maintenance 'of each cadet. The expence of their cloathing is placed to 'the army account. This corps is the nurſery of ſubaltern 'officers for the Pruſſian armies.' Obſervations, &c. ut ſupra, p. 45, 46.

[P] 'The ORPHAN-HOUSE, at Potſdam, is an admirable 'foundation, and well managed. Six thouſand children are 'nouriſhed, clothed, and ſupported in this aſylum at the king's 'expence. The boys are ſoldiers born, and are diſtributed 'through the ſeveral regiments, as ſoon as they arrive at the 'age that fits them for ſervice. The girls (who, by the bye, 'are allowed too much liberty) are maintained in the houſe till 'they are placed out, or married. Several foundations of this 'kind, though on a ſmaller ſcale, are to be met with in other 'parts of the Pruſſian dominions. The building for this pur-'poſe at Potſdam, is of an immenſe ſize, and extremely elegant. 'The number of children that are admitted into it is unlimit-'ed; and not only orphans, but the children of ſoldiers, or 'peaſants, who are unable to maintain them, are all received 'without any trouble, no diſtinction being made between a 'baſtard, and a legitimate offspring. Indeed, the meaſures 'taken by his Pruſſian majeſty, to promote the propagation of 'the ſpecies in his territories, are not a little extraordinary. 'Pregnancy is rendered reſpectable, however it has been 'acquired. A big belly ſecures, by law, the licentious 'daughter from the reproaches of her parents, and a maid-'ſervant from the cenſures of her maſter and miſtreſs, who are

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trade to all parts of the East Indies. But this company were not successful; and several of Frederick's efforts to establish commerce in his dominions, were rendered abortive by injudicious taxes, monopolies, and various restrictions.

ON the fourteenth of July, 1765, Frederick William, prince-royal of Prussia, was married to the princess Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, of Brunswick, at Berlin. After the ceremony, which was performed with great pomp, the king and queen, the prince-royal and his consort, the duke of York, the princes and princesses of the blood, the foreign ministers, nobility, and other persons of rank, supped at four tables, each of two hundred covers. After supper was a ball, which was opened by the prince and new princess of Prussia, and in which the king and duke of York also danced [239]. The following year, in order to encourage the porcelain manufactory [Q] in his kingdom, Frederick made

' not suffered to turn her away, or to ill treat her, nor even to ' reprove her for what she has done. When a girl is with child, ' she applies to a magistrate, who fixes the place where she is to ' lie in; and the inhabitants of the town, or village, pay the ' expences of her delivery, if she or her family are not in cir- ' cumstances to do it. The moment the child is born, it is put ' out to nurse at the expence of its parents, if they are capable ' of maintaining it. If they are not, the parish advances the ' money, and is reimbursed by the king.' Ibid. p. 46, 47.

[239] Annual Register, vol. VIII. p. 111.

[Q] ' The China manufacture at Berlin has made such a ' progress towards perfection, that it almost equals that of ' Dresden,

made presents of superb services of china, of the manufacture of Berlin, to several German princes. And in 1767, the princess Frederica Sophia Wilhemina of Prussia, sister to the prince-royal, was married to the prince of Orange at Berlin. This marriage, which was solemnized with great magnificence, was afterwards productive of considerable effects respecting Holland. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1767.

In 1768, Frederick made a donation of three hundred thousand crowns to the inhabitants of Silesia. This money was distributed among those persons, who, by the consequences of the late war, or by other unfortunate events, had been reduced to the necessity of contracting debts, or mortgaging their estates [240]. The same year he also made some new arrangements in his army; and, in particular, increased the number of men in all his companies of infantry [241]. In 1769, Frederick again made a

' Dresden, both in beauty of painting, and elegance of pattern, ' and is even said to excel it in the materials of which it is ' composed. As this manufacture is carried on for the king's ' account, his majesty (who understands perfectly the practical ' science of ways and means) employs, among others, one good ' expedient to promote the sale of its productions. Every Jew ' who marries, is obliged to buy directly, at the royal ware- ' house, a certain quantity of china, proportioned to his cir- ' cumstances; and this quantity is never smaller than two ' hundred crowns, amounting sometimes to six thousand. The ' purchaser is allowed to sell what he has bought, nay, even to ' send it to foreign countries without paying duty.' Observations, &c. ut supra, p. 48, 49.

[240] Annual Register, vol. XI. p. 76. [241] Ibid. p. 36.

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journey into Sileſia; and, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt in that year, he received a viſit from the emperor of Germany [R], at Neiſs, in that duchy. They behaved to each other in a very cordial and friendly manner; they ſpent two nights and a day together; and had more than one private interview. They parted with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of mutual regard, eſteem, and confidence [442]. When they dined together, ſome of their general officers dined with them. Among theſe was general Laudohn, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt the king of Pruſſia, and who was going to place himſelf at the lower end of the table: but the king called out to him, "I muſt beg, general "Laudohn, that you will do me the favour to "come and ſit by me. I am much better pleaſed "to have you on my ſide, than oppoſite to me."

AMONG other objects of a pacific nature, to which the king attended, after the reſtoration of peace, one was, the embelliſhment of Berlin [S], and

[R] JOSEPH BENEDICT AUGUSTUS, emperor of Germany, was crowned king of the Romans in 1764, and ſucceeded his father as emperor, in 1765.

[442] Annual Regiſter, vol. XII. p. 34.

[S] Dr. Moore ſays, that 'BERLIN is certainly one of the 'moſt beautiful cities in Europe. The ſtreets are built in a 'very regular manner, and of a commodious breadth. In the 'new town they are perfectly ſtraight. Frederick-ſtreet is 'reckoned two Engliſh miles and a half, or a French league, 'in length. Others, which go off at right angles from that, 'are

and Potſdam, and building, in both of thoſe cities, a great number of new edifices. He erected every year,

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'are a mile, or a mile and a half long.'—'There are a few 'very magnificent buildings in this town. The reſt are neat 'houſes, built of a fine white free-ſtone, generally one, or at 'moſt two ſtories high. Here, as at Potſdam, the finiſhing 'within does not correſpond with the elegance of the outſide, 'and the ſoldiers are quartered on the ground-floor in rooms 'looking to the ſtreet. The principal edifices are the king's 'palace, and that of prince Henry. Both of theſe are very 'magnificent. The arſenal, which is a noble ſtructure, is 'built in the form of a ſquare.'—'The new Roman Catholic 'church is by far the moſt elegant place of worſhip in the city. 'The king allows the free exerciſe of every religion over all his 'dominions. He thinks the ſmalleſt controul over men's con-'ſciences highly unjuſt.'

'BERLIN, though not a fortified, is certainly a very mili-'tary town. When all the ſoldiers of the garriſon are preſent, 'they amount to thirty thouſand. In their general conduct 'they are quiet, and the police of the town is pretty well re-'gulated. Yet there are ſome kinds of irregularities which 'prevail in the higheſt degree. Public courtezans are more 'numerous here than in any town in Europe, in proportion to 'the number of inhabitants. They appear openly at the win-'dows in the day-time, becken to paſſengers as they walk in the 'ſtreets, and ply for employment in any way they pleaſe, 'without diſturbance from the magiſtrate.'

'The moſt faſhionable walk, in Berlin, is in the middle of 'one of the principal ſtreets. Before the houſes on each ſide 'there is a cauſeway, and between theſe two cauſeways are fine 'gravel walks, planted with lime trees. Tents are pitched 'under theſe, and ice, lemonade, and other refreſhments ſold. 'The bands of muſic belonging to the regiments practiſe here 'in the ſummer. The company generally are in the greateſt

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year, at his own expence, forty houſes in Berlin, and thirty-two at Potſdam [243] [T]. They were conſtructed

' number in the evening, and often walk till it is very late.' View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 162, 163, 177, 182.

[243] Obſervations, &c. on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 34.

[T] Dr. Burney ſays, that ' the road from Berlin to ' POTSDAM is through a deep running ſand, like the worſt ' parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, where there are no turnpikes, ' till within a few miles of the town; and then it is through a ' wild foreſt of fir-trees, with lakes frequently in ſight. Upon ' a nearer approach, there is a fine opening on the left hand, ' to a very large piece of water, and a beautiful view of the ' town, in which three towers, of the ſame ſize and ſhape, ' only appear; but theſe are elegant. The reſt of the way is ' through a wood, cut into walks and rides, which interſect ' each other, and lead to different towns and villas.

' The examination at the gates of POTSDAM is the moſt ' minute and curious, both in going in, and out, which I ' have ever experienced in my travels. It could not be more ' rigorous at the poſtern of a town beſieged. Name, character, ' whence, where, when, to whom recommended, buſineſs, ſtay, ' and ſeveral other particulars, were demanded, to which the ' anſwers were all written down. However, a ſtranger, upon ' his entrance into this city, is made ſome amends, by the ' variety and ſplendour of new objects, for the bad road, and ' difficulty of admiſſion, which he has previouſly encountered.

' The ſtreets are the moſt regularly beautiful which I ever ' remember to have ſeen. The houſes all ſeem to be built of ' white ſtone, though they are only of brick, ſtuccoed over, in ' imitation of ſtone. A canal, ſupplied by the river Havel, ' runs through the middle of the town, which is ſituated on an ' iſland, called THE WERDER OF POTSDAM, which implies

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conſtructed after the king's own plans; and his principal architect attended to receive his orders on that

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'an iſland in a river. This iſland is four German miles in circumference. The approach to POTSDAM is over a very wide 'piece of water, by a ſtone bridge.

'The number of houſes in this city has been very much increaſed during the reign of his preſent majeſty, and that of his 'father. At the beginning of this century, there were only 'two hundred houſes; and at preſent there are at leaſt two 'thouſand, and ſeventeen thouſand inhabitants, excluſive of 'the military, which amount to about eight thouſand men.

'Four battalions of foot guards, with the ſquadron of life-guards, and the regiment of the prince of Pruſſia, compoſe 'the conſtant garriſon of POTSDAM. The uniform of the firſt 'battalion of foot-guards is blue, embroidered with ſilver, and 'turned up with red; the waiſtcoats are of pale yellow; the 'hats, which are extremely large, have a very broad ſilver lace, 'in imitation of *point d'eſpagne*, and are cocked in the old 'Kevenhuller faſhion, which, added to huge black whiſkers, 'give the men a moſt formidable appearance. The fourth battalion, called the Leſtewitz battalion, is formed of the remains of the late king's tall grenadiers.

'The ſquares, public buildings, and houſes of individuals 'in this city, are elegant and noble. The architecture of Palladio, in the Venetian ſtate, is here very frequently and ſucceſsfully copied. His majeſty's preſent paſſion is for architecture, 'in which he is ſaid to expend 200,000l. ſterling a year. 'POTSDAM is almoſt entirely new built, from his own deſigns, 'beſides his new palace, near Sans-Souci, and innumerable 'houſes and palaces in Berlin, conſtructed ſince the laſt war. 'Whenever a citizen is about building a houſe, either in his 'capital, or at Potſdam, his majeſty furniſhes the deſign, and

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that head, on a certain day in every year. He alſo erected in the ſame manner, every year, a certain number of houſes, and often other build-

'is at the expence of building the front.' Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 115—119.

In another place the ſame ingenious writer, ſpeaking of POTSDAM, ſays, 'In viſiting the principal ſtreets and ſquares 'of this beautiful city, which is well-built, well-paved, magnifi- 'cent, and new, I could not help obſerving, that foot paſſengers 'were here, as well as in every other city of Europe, except 'London, expoſed to accidents from being mixed with horſes 'and carriages, as well as from the inſolence and brutality of 'their riders and drivers, for want of a *foot-path*.

'I know not whether it has been remarked by writers of 'travels, that on the *Via Appia*, and other antient roads in 'Italy, a place was ſet apart, on each ſide, for the convenience 'of pedeſtrians; and in viſiting Pompeia, where an entire 'antique Roman ſtreet has been dug out, I obſerved the ſame 'thing. A Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, 'was a reſpectable character; and, perhaps, England is the only 'country, at preſent, where the common people are ſufficiently 'reſpected, for their lives and limbs to be thought worth 'preſerving.

'The preſent rage for architecture, in his Pruſſian majeſty, 'is carried on with ſuch exceſs, that, in POTSDAM, buildings 'which have all the external grandeur and elegance of palaces, 'are made the habitations of common ſoldiers, who rather exiſt 'than live in them, upon five creutzers, two pence half-penny, 'a day. However, this paſſion is hereditary; for the late king 'of Pruſſia (Frederick William) made it a condition, in be- 'ſtowing offices and employments about his court and perſon, 'that each incumbent ſhould build a houſe, reſerving to him- 'ſelf the pleaſure of planning and conſtructing the front.' Ibid. p. 197, 198.

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ings, at Konigſberg, Breſlaw, and in other towns of his dominions [244].

FREDERICK likewiſe erected a new palace at Sans-Souci, near Potſdam. Dr. Burney remarks of this palace, which is generally ſtiled THE NEW PALACE, that it appeared to him to be one of the moſt elegant and perfect, which he had ſeen in Europe. 'It is conſtructed,' ſays he, 'as well 'as moſt of the magnificent buildings in Potſdam, 'from his majeſty's own deſigns. The front is 'decorated with fluted pilaſters, of the Corinthian 'order, before each of which there is a ſtatue. 'Theſe pillars are of a pale yellow colour, and the 'reſt of the wall in imitation of red brick. A 'cupola appears above the pediment, upon which 'are placed, on a high pedeſtal, the three graces; 'and the ſtatues and groupes of figures, which 'embelliſh the attic ſtory, and the baluſtrades, 'are ſcarcely to be numbered.' The apartments 'are fitted up with the utmoſt magnificence and 'taſte. There is a ſuite of rooms appropriated to 'almoſt every branch of the royal family. Thoſe 'of the king, of his ſiſter princeſs Amelia, and the 'prince of Pruſſia, are the moſt ſplendid. In each 'of theſe apartments, there is a room dedicated 'to muſic, furniſhed with books, deſks, a harp-'ſichord, and other inſtruments. His majeſty's 'concert room is ornamented with glaſſes of an

[244] Obſervations, on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Praſſia, p. 37.

'immenſe

CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

'immenſe ſize, and with ſculpture, partly gilt, 'and partly of the moſt beautiful green varniſh, 'by Martin of Paris. The whole furniture, and 'ornaments of this room, are in a moſt refined 'and exquiſite taſte. There is a *piano forte*, made by Silbermann of Neuberg, beautifully varniſhed 'and embelliſhed; and a tortoiſe-ſhell deſk, for 'his majeſty's uſe, moſt richly and elegantly in-'laid with ſilver. On the table lay a catalogue of 'concertos for the new palace, and a book of 'manuſcript *Solfeggi*, as his majeſty calls them, or 'preludes, compoſed of difficult diviſions and paſ-'ſages for the exerciſe of the hand, as the vocal '*Solfeggi* are for the throat. His majeſty has 'books of this kind, for the uſe of his flute, in 'the muſic room of every one of his palaces.'

'In every apartment of the new palace through 'which I was conducted, there appeared a ſtudied 'elegance and delicacy in the furniture, which I 'had never met with before. The taſte, indeed, 'is rather that of France than Italy: however, it 'is the beſt of the kind, and includes both elegance 'and convenience. The hall, called THE MARBLE 'GALLERY, is truly ſuperb, and worthy of royalty. 'It is extremely ſpacious and lofty, and is totally 'encruſted with red ſpotted marble, called *Red 'Carolini*, mixed with white Italian marble. The 'pavement likewiſe is of white marble, and the 'cieling is ornamented with three large pictures, 'in gilt ſtucco frames, painted by Rode, the ſub-

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'jects of which are morning, noon, and night. Though his majeſty's principal collection of paintings, is in the picture gallery at Sans-Souci, yet there are two or three rooms in the new palace, very rich in works of capital Italian maſters. But it is out of my province to enumerate theſe: and for the coſtly gold and ſilver hangings, the exquiſitely varniſhed wainſcots, rich cielings, or Moſaic floors, they are not to be deſcribed. CHAP. XXXIII. A. D. 1769.

'OPPOSITE to the great front of this palace, there are two elegant buildings of white ſtone, joined together, by a ſuperb ſemi-circular colonnade of fluted pillars, of the Corinthian order. Theſe buildings are called, the GREAT COMMONS; in the lower part of which are the kitchens, cellars, and other offices; and, in the upper ſtories, lodging-rooms for the king's attendants, and for foreigners of diſtinction. At the front of each building, there is a double circular eſcalier, which leads to a colonnade of inſulated and fluted Corinthian pillars, which ſupport a pediment, ornamented with ſtatues: at each wing is placed a ſmall tower, with a cupola. The idea of theſe buildings is taken from the ruins of Palmyra. Indeed, his Pruſſian majeſty has made as frequent uſe of the remains of Athens, Palmyra, and Balbec, in the temples, ruins, and other buildings, in his gardens, as he has,

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'at Potſdam, of the deſigns of Palladio, Sanſovino, and Scammozi [245].'

THE ground on which this new palace was erected, was before a moraſs, and the whole country around was naked and barren; and with a reference to the king's known infidelity, and to the rapidity with which this palace was conſtructed, and the face of the country changed, it was ſaid by a German wit, "It muſt be allowed, that his majeſty "performs miracles, though he believes none [246]."

FREDERICK purchaſed a great number of paintings for the decoration of his palaces; but, in making his purchaſes, he paid little attention to the opinions of connoiſſeurs. Without any regard to the names of painters, he ſelected ſuch pieces only as appeared to himſelf to be excellent. 'It 'has no weight with him,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'that 'the piece is ſaid to be by Raphael, Guido, or 'Correggio. If he ſee no beauty in it, he ſays 'ſo, and without ceremony prefers the work of a 'modern or obſcure painter. This is conſidered 'by many critics in painting as blaſphemy, and 'ſhocks them more than any other ſpecies of impiety. A painter, and great connoiſſeur, whom 'the king had diſguſted, by rejecting ſome pictures 'of his recommending, and by purchaſing others 'which he had condemned, ſaid, ſpeaking of the

[245] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, &c. vol. II. p. 144—149.

[246] Ibid. p. 143, 144.

king, "The man imagines, becauſe he can play "on the German flute, and has been praiſed "by a parcel of poets and philoſophers, and "has gained ten or a dozen battles, that there- "fore he underſtands painting. But fighting "battles is one thing, and a true knowledge of "painting is another, and that he will find to his "coſt [247]."

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BUT though the king had no partiality for antient painters of great name, if he could not find excellence in their works, he had yet a great prejudice againſt German artiſts. One day colonel Quintus ſhewed him a picture of conſiderable merit, which at firſt he greatly admired; but when he was informed, that it was painted by a German artiſt, who lived at Berlin, he ſaid, "I do not like it; take it "away." The painter was ſo much exaſperated at the reception which his picture had met with from the king, that when it was returned to him, he threw it into the fire. Soon after Frederick wanted a picture to fill up a vacant place, and told Quintus, that he would purchaſe the picture that he had before rejected. Quintus informed him, that this was impoſſible; becauſe the painter, finding that he could not pleaſe his majeſty, had burnt his picture. "Well, Quintus," ſaid the king, "that I call caprice." "Yes, ſire," replied the

[247] View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany, vol. II. p. 123, 124. edit. 1786.

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colonel, "though he is a German artiſt, he has all "the caprice of an Italian [248]."

FREDERICK diſcovered a ſimilar prejudice againſt mademoiſelle Schmeling, now the celebrated madame Mara, when he was requeſted to hear her ſing. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed upon to hear her: "A German ſinger!" ſaid he; "I ſhould as ſoon expect to receive plea-"ſure from the neighing of my horſe [249]." But when he had heard her, he was ſo much delighted with her performance [v], that he took her into his ſervice, and gave her a penſion of four thouſand crowns [250].

HIS prejudices againſt German artiſts ſeem to have been extended to workmen of every kind, in whoſe performances any degree of ingenuity could be exhibited. He had been preſented, by the count de Rothenburg, with a ſnuff-box, of very curious workmanſhip, which he ſuppoſed to have been made at Paris, and which, under that idea, he

[248] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 10. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 148, 149.

[249] Burney's Preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 110, 111.

[v] Dr. Burney ſays, 'After he had heard her ſing one ſong, 'his majeſty is ſaid to have fought among his manuſcript muſic 'for the moſt difficult airs in his collection, in order to try her 'powers, as much as to gratify his own ear; but ſhe executed, 'at ſight, whatever he commanded her to perform, in all ſtyles, 'as well as if ſhe had practiſed each of theſe compoſitions dur-'ing her whole life.' Preſent State of Muſic, ut ſupra, p. 111.

[250] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, ut ſupra.

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greatly admired. But when, after having had it for a considerable time, he accidentally discovered that it had been really made at Berlin, he would keep it no longer, but gave it away to one of his attendants [251].

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[251] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, ut supra, p. 9.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*The king of Pruſſia pays a viſit to the emperor, at Neuſtadt, in Moravia.—The territories of Dantzick invaded by Pruſſian troops.—Partition of Poland.*

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AS the king of Pruſſia had received a viſit from the emperor of Germany in Sileſia, in the year 1769, in the following year he paid a viſit to the emperor, in his turn, at Neuſtadt in Moravia. It was on the third of September, 1770, that Frederick arrived at the emperor's camp; the meeting between theſe two great princes was apparently attended with much mutual eſteem and regard [u]; and a grand review was made of the Auſtrian troops for the king's entertainment. But, at the preſent period, Frederick's own troops were not wholly inactive: on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, a body of Pruſſian troops made a ſudden irruption, at two o'clock in the morning, into the territories of Dantzick, where they ſurprized ſeveral of the out-poſts, ſeized the cannon,

[u] 'The meeting between theſe great monarchs was in 'appearance ſo cordial and affectionate, as greatly to affect the 'beholders, particularly the troops, many of whom remember-'ed, and had experienced, the fatal conſequences of the ani-'moſity that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two families.' Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 42, 43.

and

and made the men priſoners. They were afterwards reinforced to the number of five thouſand, and encamped about four miles from the city, where they continued ſome weeks, but obſerved an exact diſcipline [252]. The pretence for this invaſion of the territories of Dantzick was, that the magiſtrates had forbidden the Pruſſian recruiting officers to levy men within their free city; and that the poſt-maſter had refuſed to paſs ſome caſks of ſilver, which came for the Pruſſian reſident, without examination. It was remarked, that the complaint founded on the laſt of theſe cauſes, was the more groundleſs, as the poſt-office belonged to the king of Poland, and the magiſtrates had no authority over it [253].

THE inhabitants of Dantzick, having ſecured their gates, immediately applied to all the foreign miniſters, to write to their reſpective courts, to ſolicit their protection, or interceſſion in their favour. But no effectual interpoſition was made in their behalf: and the reſult was, that, in about a month, the city, upon agreeing to pay ſeventy-five thouſand ducats, and ſubſcribing to certain conditions, was admitted to depute two counſellors, to make a ſubmiſſion to his Pruſſian majeſty. The conditions were: firſt, that they ſhould ſettle and pay, without delay, all the demands made by the king's ſubjects on the city or burghers; ſecondly, that the Pruſſians ſhould have liberty to enliſt recruits;

[252] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 43. [253] Id. ibid.

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thirdly, that the inhabitants of Dantzick ſhould not harbour any Pruſſian deſerters; fourthly, that the money conſigned to the Pruſſian reſident ſhould not be liable to inſpection; and, fifthly, that the inhabitants ſhould "comport themſelves in ſuch a "manner, as not to give any future cauſe of com-"plaint to his Pruſſian majeſty [354]." At the ſame time, all the Pruſſian ſubjects, who were reſident at Dantzick, were peremptorily ordered to return to their reſpective countries [w].

FREDERICK was, indeed, now ſo much determined to increaſe the population of his own dominions, that he adopted very extraordinary methods for that purpoſe. His troops entered into Great Poland, in the year 1771; and, during the ſpace of that year, he is ſaid to have carried off from that province, and from the neighbourhood, at a moderate computation, twelve thouſand families [355]. On the twenty-ninth of October, in the ſame year,

[354] Annual Regiſter, vol. XIII. p. 44.

[w] It has been remarked, that 'Nothing could be more 'arbitrary, nor attended with circumſtances of greater cruelty 'than this act. Many of theſe people had married, had formed 'all their connections, had acquired conſiderable fortunes, and 'had ſpent the principal part of their lives in that great trading 'city. So that this order carried along with it all the pungent 'ſtings of baniſhment from a native country, at the moſt criti-'cal periods, and in the moſt intereſting ſituations of life.' Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

[355] Lind's Letters concerning the preſent State of Poland, ſecond edit. 1773, p. 113.

the king of Pruſſia alſo publiſhed an edict in that province, commanding every perſon, under the ſevereſt penalties, to take in payment for forage, proviſions, corn, and horſes, the money offered by his troops and commiſſaries. This money was either ſilver, bearing the impreſſion of Poland, and exactly worth one third of its nominal value, or ducats ſtruck in imitation of Dutch ducats, ſeventeen per cent. inferior to the real ducats of Holland [256]. With this baſe money [x] he bought up

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[256] Lind's Letters concerning the preſent State of Poland, ut ſupra.

[x] It appears that Frederick at ſeveral different times coined money, the real value of which was greatly inferior to what it paſſed for; and though his ſubjects were directed to take it, his revenue officers were forbidden to take it again in taxes. When ſome of this baſe money was in circulation, the king was one day riding near Potſdam, and over-heard a diſpute between a baker and a peaſant, occaſioned by the refuſal of the latter to take ſome of this bad money in exchange. The king rode up to the peaſant, and aſked him, what was the reaſon that he would not take the money? The peaſant looked him full in the face, and ſaid dryly, "Will you take it yourſelf?" The king made him no anſwer, but turned his horſe's head, and rode off.

Mr. Lind ſays, 'The king of Pruſſia, during the laſt war, 'over-run all Germany and Poland with falſe and adulterate 'coin. Inſtead of calling it in, at the end of the war, he 'cried it down, and declared it no longer current in his own 'dominions. As he had bought up, during the war, many 'cattle and much corn in Poland, that kingdom ſuffered ſevere-'ly by this unuſual proceeding. All the good ſilver inſenſibly 'diſappeared. The proportion between the maſs of ſilver and 'gold was deſtroyed.' Letters concerning Poland, p. 40, 41.

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corn, and forage, enough not only to ſupply his army for two whole years, but to ſtock magazines in the country itſelf, where the inhabitants were forced to come and re-purchaſe corn for their daily ſubſiſtence, at an advanced price, and with good money, his commiſſaries refuſing to take the ſame coin they had paid. It is ſaid, that, at the loweſt calculation, "he gained, by this maſterly and "honeſt manœuvre, ſeven millions of dollars [Y]."

[Y] Mr. Lind ſays, Frederick 'having ſtripped the country 'of money and proviſions, he thought it, I ſuppoſe, an act of 'humanity to thin it ſtill more of inhabitants. He hit upon a 'new contribution. Every town and village was obliged to 'furniſh a certain number of marriageable girls; the parents to 'give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, a cow, two 'hogs, and three ducats in gold. A letter I received from 'Poſnania, in the month of March laſt, (1772) informed me, 'that a little town, called Korztrzym, with its dependencies, 'was forced to furniſh general Belling fifty marriageable girls, 'with each this portion; and a correſpondent I have at Star-'gard, a town belonging to the king of Pruſſia, informed me 'about the ſame time, that ſeveral waggons filled with this 'new kind of contribution had paſſed through that town.

'His exactions from the abbeys, convents, cathedrals, and 'nobles, were ſo heavy, and exceeded at laſt their abilities ſo 'much, that the prieſts abandoned the churches, and the nobles 'their lands. Thoſe whom age or infirmities prevented from 'flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried off as crimi-'nals.'—'Theſe exactions continued with unabated rigour, 'from the year 1770 to the time the treaty of partition was 'declared, and poſſeſſion taken of the provinces uſurped. The 'loſs of inhabitants is not eaſily to be calculated: that of money 'has been, I believe, moderately computed at three millions of 'ducats.' Letters concerning Poland, ut ſupra, p. 114, 115, 116.

BESIDES

BESIDES theſe unjuſtifiable actions, of which the king of Pruſſia was guilty at the preſent period, he had alſo a great ſhare, and is ſaid to have been the prime mover [z], in the Partition of Poland. The

[z] Mr. Coxe, who appears to have had very accurate information reſpecting the ſteps that were taken, preparatory to the Partition of Poland, ſays, 'The PARTITION OF POLAND 'was firſt projected by the king of Pruſſia. Poliſh, or Weſtern 'Pruſſia, had long been an object of his ambition. Excluſively 'of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local ſituation 'rendered it highly valuable to that monarch. It lay between 'his German dominions and Eaſtern Pruſſia, and while poſ-'ſeſſed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication 'between them. During the courſe of the laſt general war, he 'experienced the moſt fatal effects from this disjointed ſtate of 'his territories. By the acquiſition of Weſtern Pruſſia, his 'dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops, in 'time of war, be able to march from Berlin to Koningſberg 'without interruption. The period was now arrived, when 'the ſituation of Poland ſeemed to promiſe the attainment of 'this favourite object. He purſued it, however, with all the 'caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the 'troubles, he ſhewed no eagerneſs to interfere in the affairs of 'this country; and although he had concurred with the em-'preſs of Ruſſia in raiſing Staniſlaus Auguſtus to the throne of 'Poland, yet he declined taking any active part in his favour 'againſt the confederates. Afterwards, in 1769, when the 'whole kingdom became convulſed throughout with civil com-'motions, and deſolated likewiſe by the plague; he, under 'pretence of forming lines to prevent the ſpreading of the in-'fection, advanced his troops into Poliſh Pruſſia, and occupied 'that whole diſtrict.

'Though now completely maſter of the country, and by no 'means apprehenſive of any formidable reſiſtance from the diſ-'united

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The divided and unhappy ſtate of that country, rendered it the more eaſy for the uſurping powers to

'united and diſtracted Poles; yet, as he was well aware that 'the ſecurity of his new acquiſition depended upon the acquieſ-'cence of Ruſſia and Auſtria, he planned the Partition of Po-'land. He communicated the project to the emperor, either 'during their interview at Neiſs, in Sileſia, in 1769, or in 'that of the following year, at Neuſtadt; from whom the 'overture met with a ready concurrence. Joſeph, who had 'before ſecretly encouraged the confederates, and even com-'menced a negociation with the Porte againſt Ruſſia, now ſud-'denly altered his meaſures, and increaſed his army towards 'the Poliſh frontiers. The plague preſenting to him, as well 'as to the king of Pruſſia, a ſpecious motive for ſtationing 'troops in the dominions of the republic, he gradually extend-'ed his lines; and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory 'which he has ſince diſmembered. But, notwithſtanding this 'change in his ſentiments, his real views upon Poland were at 'firſt ſo effectually concealed, that the Poliſh rebels conceived 'that the Auſtrian army was advancing to act in their favour; 'not ſuppoſing it poſſible, that the rival courts of Vienna and 'Berlin could act in concert.

'Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, 'than the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia. That great 'princeſs was too diſcerning a politician not to regard with a 'jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. 'Poſſeſſing an uncontrouled aſcendancy over the whole country, 'ſhe could propoſe no material advantage from the formal 'acquiſition of a part; and muſt purchaſe a moderate addition 'to her territory by a conſiderable ſurrender of authority. 'The king of Pruſſia, well acquainted with the true intereſts 'of Ruſſia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the 'empreſs to diſcern thoſe intereſts, forebore (it is ſaid) open-'ing any negociation on the ſubject of the partition, until ſhe

'was

to ſucceed in this iniquitous tranſaction. The Po- CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1772.
liſh nation was involved in a civil war, which had taken

'was involved in a Turkiſh war. At that criſis he diſpatched 'his brother prince Henry to Peterſburgh, who ſuggeſted to 'the empreſs, that the houſe of Auſtria was forming an alli-'ance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a 'moſt formidable combination againſt her; that, nevertheleſs, 'the friendſhip of that houſe was to be purchaſed by acceding 'to the partition; that, upon this condition, the emperor was 'willing to renounce his connexion with the grand ſignior, 'and would ſuffer the Ruſſians to proſecute the war without 'interruption. Catharine, anxious to puſh her conqueſts 'againſt the Turks, and dreading the interpoſition of the 'emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewiſe, from the inti-'mate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it 'would not be in her power, at the preſent juncture, to pre-'vent the intended partition, cloſed with the propoſal; and 'ſelected no inconſiderable portion of the Poliſh territories for 'herſelf. The treaty was ſigned at Peterſburgh, in the begin-'ning of February, 1772, by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, and Pruſ-'ſian plenipotentiaries.

'As the troops of the three courts were already in poſſeſſion 'of the greateſt part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in 'on all ſides, were ſoon routed and diſperſed; and Europe 'waited in anxious expectation what would be the iſſue of this 'unexpected union. Yet, ſuch was the profound ſecrecy with 'which the partitioning powers proceeded, that, for ſome time 'after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were 'entertained even at Warſaw concerning their real intentions; 'and the late lord Cathcart, the Engliſh miniſter at Peterſ-'burgh, was able to obtain no authentic information of its 'ſignature, until two months after the event. The firſt formal 'notification of any pretenſions to the Poliſh territory was in 'the month of September, 1772, announced to the king and

'ſenate

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taken its rise from the bigotry of the Romish clergy [A]; and more than two hundred thousand of

'senate assembled at Warsaw, by the Imperial ambassador; 'which was soon followed by the memorials of the Russian and 'Prussian courts, specifying their respective claims.' Travels into Poland, Russia, &c. vol. I. p. 65—70. edit. 8vo. 1787.

[A] In 1766, two Polish gentlemen presented a petition to the king of Poland, in the name of all the Protestant nobility, and in behalf also of the members of the Greek church, wherein they demanded to be reinstated in their antient rights and privileges, and to be placed upon the same footing in every respect with the Roman Catholic subjects of Poland. The Protestants and members of the Greek church, who were conjointly called the Dissidents, said in their petition, 'The difference of senti-'ments upon some points of religion among Christians, ought 'not to enter into any consideration with regard to the employ-'ments of the state. The different sects of Christians, although 'they differ in opinion among themselves with respect to some 'points of doctrine, agree all in one point, that of being faith-'ful to their sovereign, and obedient to his orders. All the 'Christian courts are convinced of this truth; and, therefore, 'having always this principle in view, and without having any 'regard to the religion they profess, Christian princes ought 'only to seek after those, whose merit and talents make them 'capable of serving their country properly.' The claims of the Dissidents were founded upon justice and reason, and were supported by the courts of Petersburgh, of London, of Berlin, and of Copenhagen. But the Roman Catholic clergy of Poland vehemently opposed the claims of the Dissidents, and a civil war took place, which was increased by the improper interference of the Russians in the affairs of the republic. It was natural that the king of Prussia, from the sentiments of religious toleration that he had always avowed, should espouse the cause of the Dissidents; but, from the manner in which he did this,

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of the Poles had been alſo carried off by the peſtilence. At this diſtreſsful period, the project of the partition was formed; by which ſome of the fineſt provinces of Poland were diſmembered from the republic, and divided among the uſurping powers [B]. They found it difficult at firſt to ſettle their reſpective claims; but it was at length agreed, that Poliſh Pruſſia, and ſome diſtricts bordering upon Brandenburgh, ſhould be allotted to the king of Pruſſia; almoſt all the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the kingdom, bordering upon Hungary, together with the rich ſalt-works of the crown, were appropriated to the empreſs-queen; and a large diſtrict of country about Mohilow, upon the banks of the Dnieper, was taken poſſeſſion of by the empreſs of Ruſſia [C]. CHAP. XXXIV. A. D. 1772.

it was ſufficiently manifeſt, that his chief aim, in interfering in the affairs of Poland, was to promote the views of his own ambition.

[B] The conſtitution of the Poliſh government was in many reſpects ſo bad, that if a change had been made in it even by violent methods, it might not upon the whole have been prejudicial to the people. But the partitioning powers had no wiſh to remedy the defects of the Poliſh government. On the contrary, they laboured to perpetuate, in thoſe parts of the country which they did not ſeize for themſelves, the worſt parts of the Poliſh conſtitution. 'Under pretence,' ſays Mr. Coxe, 'of amending the conſtitution, they have confirmed all its de'fects; and have taken effectual precautions to render this un'happy country incapable of emerging from its preſent deplor'able ſtate.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 76.

[C] Mr. Coxe ſays, that 'of the diſmembered countries, 'the Ruſſian province is the largeſt, the Auſtrian the moſt 'populous,

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THE courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated againſt the partition of Poland; but as theſe remonſtrances were not ſupported by affording any effectual aſſiſtance to the Poles, they were without effect. A declaration was publiſhed by the king and ſenate of Poland, dated at Warſaw, Oct. 17, 1772, and ſigned by

'populous, and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial. The popu-
'lation of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of ſouls; the
'firſt contains 1,500,000, the ſecond 2,500,000, and the third
'860,000. Weſtern Pruſſia was the greateſt loſs to Poland, as
'by the diſmemberment of that province, the navigation of the
'Viſtula entirely depends upon the king of Pruſſia. By the
'loſs conſequently of this diſtrict, a fatal blow was given to
'the trade of Poland: for his Pruſſian majeſty has laid ſuch
'heavy duties upon the merchandize paſſing to Dantzick, as
'greatly to diminiſh the commerce of that town, and to tranſ-
'fer a conſiderable portion of it to Memel and Koningſberg.'

It is farther obſerved by Mr. Coxe, that 'Although the
'limits of Poland were ſettled by the treaty of partition, yet
'the Auſtrians and Pruſſians continually extended their fron-
'tiers: the emperor ſeized upon Caſimir, and even avowed an
'intention of taking poſſeſſion of Cracow and Kaminiec; while
'Frederick alleged theſe uſurpations as a juſtification for ſimilar
'encroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, con-
'ſiſtent with his own ſecurity, ſee the emperor increaſing his
'dominions without following his example, and aſſuming an
'equivalent. Catharine was forced for a time to connive at
'theſe encroachments; but no ſooner was peace eſtabliſhed with
'the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff cruſhed, than ſhe
'immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it is
'owing to her ſpirited remonſtrances, that both Auſtrians and
'Pruſſians have relinquiſhed their uſurpations, and confined
'themſelves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.'
Travels, ubi ſupra, p. 73, 74.

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the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania, in which are the following paſſages: 'The rights of 'the republic to all her provinces, have every 'poſſible mark of ſolidity and authenticity. An 'uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many ages, avowed 'and maintained by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and 'particularly by thoſe of Velaw and Oliva, guaran-'tied by the houſe of Auſtria, by the crowns of 'France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the 'treaty of 1686, with Ruſſia;—by the expreſs and 'recent declarations of this laſt power;—by thoſe 'of Pruſſia in 1674;—and, laſtly, by treaties with 'the houſe of Auſtria, now in full force and vigour. 'On theſe foundations the rights of the republic 'are grounded. The court of Warſaw contents 'itſelf with barely pointing them out at preſent, 'reſerving the right of ſupporting them by proofs 'more ample and particular in time and place.

'WHAT titles can the three powers oppoſe to 'theſe? If they are titles dug out of the obſcurity 'of antient times, of thoſe times of ſudden and 'momentary revolutions, which erected and de-'ſtroyed, ceded and reſtored ſtates, in the ſhort 'ſpace of a few months or years; theſe titles, if 'admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of 'Poland many provinces, which formerly belonged 'to it, but which for many years have been 'occupied by the very powers who now form pre-'tenſions on her.

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'BUT

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'BUT as it is undeniable, that not only tranſactions buried in the oblivion of diſtant ages, but all tranſactions whatever, are annihilated by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the later ſtipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppoſe directly the partition they would now make, it follows, that the titles, on which that partition is founded, cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every ſtate, without ſhaking every throne from its foundation.'

'THE preſent proceedings of the three courts giving the moſt ſerious ſubject of complaint to the king, and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, he declares, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he looks upon the actual ſeizure of the provinces of Poland, by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights: he appeals to the treaties, and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And, laſtly, full of confidence in the juſtice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne; and puts his cauſe into the hands of the King of kings, the ſupreme Judge of nations: and, in the full aſſurance of his ſuccour, he proteſts ſolemnly, and before the whole univerſe, againſt every ſtep taken, or to be taken, towards the diſmembering of Poland [257].'

[257] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 336, 337, 338, 339. Annual Regiſter for the year 1772, p. 254, 255.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the appeals of the king and people of Poland, againſt the violence and injuſtice of thoſe who had taken poſſeſſion of their dominions, they were at length compelled, as they received no aſſiſtance from any foreign ſtate, to ſubmit to the diſmemberment of the territories of the republic, by the ſuperior power of the three uſurping potentates; and a pretended diet was even held at Warſaw, by which the treaty of partition was ratified. But before that event could take place, the king of Pruſſia publiſhed what he called "letters patent," in which he ſtated his claims, and appointed a day for all the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts, which he had ſeized, to do homage, and take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to him, in the preſence of commiſſaries appointed by him for that purpoſe. 'We perſuade ourſelves,' ſaid he, 'that all the inhabitants of the ſaid diſtricts will 'conform themſelves to theſe our orders; but if, 'contrary to our expectations, any perſon ſhould 'preſume to diſobey the ſame, by neglecting to 'take the oath of allegiance, refuſing to ſubmit 'himſelf to our dominion, and to acknowledge us 'for his maſter [D], or by reſiſting our troops, 'and

[D] A very ſhort time was allowed for the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts to do homage to the king of Pruſſia, and to take the oaths of allegiance to him: for the letters patent were dated at Berlin on the thirteenth of September, 1772, and the day fixed for doing homage, and taking the oaths, was the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month. It has been juſtly remarked, that

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and others commiſſioned to carry theſe our orders into execution, or, in ſhort, ſhould in any wiſe render himſelf guilty, or even SUSPECTED of infidelity and diſobedience, all ſuch may be aſſured, that we ſhall proceed againſt them, without exception of perſons, with all the rigour uſual in ſuch caſes[258].'

OF the principles and conduct of the three uſurping powers [E], a more accurate idea may be formed, by attending to the declarations made by each of them, before the partition of Poland had taken place. In the year 1764, the empreſs of Ruſſia tranſmitted to the court of Warſaw an act, ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with the ſeal of the

'no ſecurity, either of perſon or property, was granted by 'theſe letters patent, to thoſe who from principles of honour, 'or conſcience, or a diſlike to foreign laws and a military 'government, would ſooner abandon their country, than be 'guilty of a violation of the one, or ſubmit to a compliance 'with the other. As little regard was ſhewn to the rights of 'thoſe, who were abſent in other countries, and who, from 'the ſhortneſs of time, could not poſſibly comply with the 'terms preſcribed. The ſame diſregard to the eſtabliſhed 'rights of mankind was ſhewn in the Auſtrian ſpecifications,' Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 34.

[258] Lind's Letters concerning Poland, p. 359, 360.

[E] Mr. Coxe obſerves, that 'it is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Pruſſia was 'formerly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the republic; Ruſſia once 'ſaw its capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; and Auſtria, 'ſcarcely a century ago, was indebted to a ſovereign of this 'country for the preſervation of its metropolis, and almoſt for 'its very exiſtence.' Travels, ut ſupra, p. 63, 64.

empire, wherein ſhe declared, "That ſhe did by no means arrogate either to herſelf, her heirs, and ſucceſſors, or to her empire, any right or claim to the diſtricts or territories, which were actually in poſſeſſion, or ſubject to the authority of the kingdom of Poland, or great duchy of Lithuania; but that, on the contrary, her ſaid majeſty would guaranty to the ſaid kingdom of Poland, and duchy of Lithuania, all the immunities, lands, territories, and diſtricts, which the ſaid kingdom and duchy ought by right to poſſeſs, or did then actually poſſeſs; and would, at all times, and for ever, maintain them in the full and free enjoyment thereof, againſt the attempts of all who ſhould at any time, or on any pretext, endeavour to diſpoſſeſs them of the ſame." In the ſame year the king of Pruſſia ſigned, with his own hand, an act, wherein he declared, that "he had no claims, and formed no pretenſions on Poland, or any part thereof; and that he renounced all claims on that kingdom, either as king of Pruſſia, elector of Brandenburgh, or duke of Pomerania." In the ſame inſtrument he guarantied, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the territories and rights of Poland againſt every power whatſoever. The empreſs-queen alſo, in the month of January, 1771, wrote a letter with her own hand to the king of Poland, in which, after the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of unalterable friendſhip, for him and the republic, and deſiring

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that the motions of her troops might give no alarm to either, ſhe concluded by aſſuring him, that "ſhe never had entertained a thought of "ſeizing any part of his dominions, nor would "ever ſuffer any other power to do ſo [259]."

A MORE flagrant act of injuſtice, oppreſſion, and tyranny, has ſeldom appeared in the hiſtory of mankind, than the partition of Poland. It was unvarniſhed by any ſpecious pretences, or plauſible appearances. The manifeſtoes, iſſued by the uſurping powers upon the occaſion, were too futile, and too palpably ridiculous, to impoſe even on the groſſeſt underſtanding. As to the king of Pruſſia, the partition was a meaſure perfectly ſuitable to the favourite object of his ambition, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and, when this was the point in view, juſtice and injuſtice were trifling conſiderations. Count Hertzberg has aſſerted, that, of theſe claims, that of the king of Pruſſia was the beſt founded [260]. Of three ſuch claims, it may be difficult to determine, which was the moſt iniquitous. This, however, may be certainly determined, that none of the claims had the leaſt foundation in juſtice, truth, or reaſon. They originated in unprincipled ambition, and were enforced in a manner [F], that ought never to be ſpoken

[259] Annual Regiſter, vol. XV. p. 25.

[260] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière anné, &c. p. 25.

[F] A contemporary writer, ſpeaking of the ſtate of Poland at this period, ſays, 'In Poland all the barriers that have been 'erected

ſpoken of but in terms of indignation, while any ſenſe of vice or virtue ſhall remain among mankind.



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'erected in the various hiſtory of mankind, to protect indivi-
'duals, or to alleviate the calamities to which they are liable,
'in thoſe wars that too frequently ariſe, from the rage, the
'folly, or the ambition of their rulers, have been torn up, and
'totally overthrown.'—'No attention is now paid, either to
'the laws of nations, or to the rights of individuals. The in-
'habitants, without being abſolved from their natural govern-
'ment, or having any ſecurity againſt her indignation, if ſhe
'were enabled to ſhew it, are compelled, under pain of con-
'fiſcation, and all the other penalties that power can inflict, to
'renounce their natural allegiance, break their former oaths,
'and take new ones at a ſhort warning to ſtrangers. The un-
'happy nobility, who are the lords of the ſoil, are at the ſame
'time diſperſed throughout Europe, having fled for refuge to
'different countries, to avoid the calamities and horrors of their
'own; and, if they were diſpoſed to comply with the condi-
'tions, could not poſſibly do it in the time preſcribed.'
Annual Regiſter for the year 1772, p. 37, 38.

'The eſtates of the princes Czartoriſki, amounting to more
'than 20,000l. ſterling a year, have been confiſcated by the
'empreſs of Ruſſia; though theſe two princes are uncles to the
'king, are poſſeſſed of the higheſt offices under the ſtate, and
'were not acquainted time enough with the neceſſity of their
'perſonal attendance, to have complied, if they had been diſ-
'poſed to forfeit their allegiance. All the eſtates of count
'Kicki, the ſtaroſt of Lemburg, have been alſo forfeited, for
'nobly refuſing to betray his country, by ſwearing allegiance
'to the empreſs-queen.

'Prince Radzivil, who enjoyed ſuch immenſe poſſeſſions in
'Lithuania, that they exceeded thoſe of many ſovereign
'princes, and whoſe anceſtors had raiſed and ſupported conſi-
'derable armies at their private expence, was one of the many,

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IN the letters patent which had been published by the king of Prussia, relative to the districts that he had seized in Poland, the cities of Dantzick and Thorn had been particularly excepted from his claims. But he soon after seized the territories belonging to Dantzick, under pretence of their having been formerly part of Polish Prussia. They had been alienated and ceded to the city by the kings of Poland; but Frederick declared, that those alienations were void, because having been made at a time, when the province and town were under the same prince, the reasons of making them ceased, now that they were fallen under the dominion of different masters. Upon the same pretext, he also seized upon the little island of Holm, and upon two peninsulas that run into the harbour, together with the suburbs called Scheidlitz and Scharpau, the district of Nehring, and the canal called the Fahrwasser. He had before seized, as parts of Polish Prussia, an angle of the port called Pwziger-Winkel; the suburbs of Dantzick, called Scotland, Hoppenbruch, and Holland; a little town called Stolzemberg, a village called Langfauhr, together with the abbey of Oliva, and all

' who, at the beginning of these troubles, became a dupe to the ' designs of Russia; but having been at length too fatally con- ' vinced of his error, he retired into Germany. The Russians ' offered to restore him every thing, but his plate and his library, ' if he would return and take the oaths; but he bravely answer- ' ed, " That he was born free, his ancestors were free, and he " would die so." Ibid. p. 44, 45.

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its dependencies [161]. By these seizures he effectually commanded the city, being master of all the heights around it, and of its gates, works, and harbour [G]. Being also established in possession of

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[161] Annual Register, vol. XV. p. 38. Letters concerning Poland, p. 268, 269.

[G] Frederick also contrived to gain possession of the post-office at Dantzick. 'The king of Poland had a revenue still 'left, arising from the post-office at Dantzick: this miserable 'fragment, and support of royalty, could not escape the 'watchful attention of the king of Prussia. He also erected a 'new post-office at Stoltzemberg; and the merchants of this 'great commercial city, afforded the new and ridiculous ap-'pearance, of being obliged to travel out of town to receive or 'forward their letters. By this means he not only seized the 'revenues of the old post-office, but, what was of infinitely 'greater importance, became master of the whole public and 'private correspondence of Dantzick.'—'To complete the 'system of oppression, custom-houses were erected at their very 'gates, so that no person could go in or out of town, without 'being searched in the strictest manner.'—'Such was the fate 'of the great mart of the North, the Protestant and once noble 'and free city of Dantzick; and such the treatment which it 'met with from a Protestant prince and neighbour, who, in-'stead of oppressing it himself, was bound by the strongest ties 'to protect it from the oppression of others. There is not, 'perhaps, in history, a more striking instance of the futility, 'if not of the absurdity of treaties, so far as they are considered 'as guarantees, or acts of security, than the fate of Dantzick. 'Few cities ever existed, and it is probable that none do at 'present, that have been comprehended in so many general and 'particular treaties, whose rights and liberties have been so 'frequently secured, and guarantied by so many great powers, 'and by such a long and regular succession of public acts, as

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of the sea-coast, he immediately seized on the port-duties belonging to Dantzick, and erected a custom-house on the harbour, where he laid insupportable duties, at his pleasure, upon all goods, whether exports or imports. The masters and owners of vessels having refused to pay this arbitrary tribute, thirty-five of their ships were stopped at once. The foreign ministers and consuls applied for redress upon this occasion, but in vain; so that all commerce and business were entirely at a stand, till the merchants were at length obliged to comply with the demands that were made upon them, which, however unjust, they had no power to oppose [261]. The English merchants had always enjoyed great privileges at Dantzick; and these privileges had been repeatedly confirmed to them by treaty: but their privileges were no more regarded than those of other nations, and they experienced on this occasion great violence and injustice from the king of Prussia. His conduct with regard to Dantzick continued to be, after this period [H], in

'that of Dantzick has been. Nor have the commercial powers 'of Europe so often armed in the defence or support of any 'other.' Annual Register, ut supra, p. 40, 41.

[261] Annual Register, ut supra, p. 39.

[H] In a letter written by Mr. Wraxall from Dantzick, and dated Aug. 31, 1774, are the following passages: 'I crossed 'the Vistula at Dirschaw, a little town most beautifully situated 'on its banks, and commanding a view of all this fertile 'country. About an English mile and a half before I got to 'the

in a very high degree unjuſt and tyrannical; but he afterwards made ſome relaxation of his claims reſpecting that city.

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'the town of Dantzick, I came to the laſt Pruſſian guard, and 'entered the territory of the republic, which is at preſent dimi-'niſhed on every ſide, and inveſted by huſſars and grenadiers 'of an abſolute prince. Freedom, it is true, yet reigns within 'theſe limits, though narrow, and waves her ſacred banner on 'the ramparts; but how long this may continue, is certainly 'matter of uncertainty and doubt. If the melancholy fate of 'Elbing or Marienbourg can form a preſage; if the unfeeling 'rapacity ſhewn in the diviſion of Poland, its feudal parent, 'and once its protector; if the general train of policy, I ſhould 'rather ſay of unreſtrained avidity, exerciſed by the court of 'Berlin in Poliſh Pruſſia, enables one to determine, its final 'extinction is not far off. To what happy or valuable purpoſes, 'indeed, can the poſſeſſion of perſonal independence ſerve, 'when the vital ſpirit which once ſupplied it is fled? Their 'commerce, their revenues, their riches, are already either 'ſeized on, or burthened with impoſts and duties which muſt 'eventually deſtroy them. The city itſelf, which no king of 'Poland ever dared to enſlave, which has for centuries known 'the ſweets of an equal government and public liberty; now 'awaits, in trembling expectation, the hour of its deſtruction, 'and implores, perhaps in vain, the powers of Europe to ſave 'her from a new enemy, a ſovereign whoſe claims are equally 'unexpected as unbounded, and who, though apparently re-'ſtrained from open violence by political motives, watches 'only the favourable moment when treachery, or intrigue, 'may put him into poſſeſſion. As a member of the human 'race, and more peculiarly as enjoying in my own perſon the 'bleſſings of liberty, I feel for an unhappy city, which has 'once been great and powerful, but whoſe glories will probably 'ſoon be extinguiſhed. Moſt or all the ſuburbs, which are

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THE Proteſtant city of Thorn was alſo treated by Frederick, in a manner extremely ſimilar to that of

'very populous and extenſive, are already occupied by Pruſſian 'ſoldiery, who on one ſide are cloſe to the very fortifications, 'a paliſado only ſeparating them from the Dantzick guards.'

Mr. Wraxall afterwards, taking notice of his having made inquiries concerning the antiquities of Dantzick, ſays, 'I am 'indebted principally for my information to two gentlemen, to 'whom I have been introduced ſince my arrival, M. le baron 'Zorn and Dr. Wolf, whoſe names I ought not to mention 'without adding the obligations their politeneſs and readineſs 'to communicate knowledge, has laid me under. The laſt of 'them is animated by a ſpirit of independence worthy 'HAMPDEN or SYDNEY. He reſided ſome years ſince at 'Warſaw; but quitted it, on account of the troubles and 'anarchy which foreign ambition had introduced into that 'capital. He retired to Dirſchaw, about twenty miles from 'hence, built himſelf an obſervatory for his aſtronomical 'ſtudies, and remained there till the king of Pruſſia ſeized on 'the town and ſurrounding territory. Unable to bear a yoke 'ſo galling, he left Dirſchaw, and removed to this city; and 'he now declares, that, when it is no longer free, he will 'embark for England, where he has already been, and where 'every fugitive may find an aſylum. Happy, glorious country, 'which can thus extend its parental protection to perſecuted 'merit of every kind, and where freedom, almoſt unknown 'from the pole to the equator, holds her peaceful and gentle 'reign!'

'I drove out laſt Sunday to ſee the abbey of Oliva, ſo cele-'brated for the peace concluded in it.'—'The abbot's palace, 'and gardens adjoining, are very elegant: but his revenues, 'which amounted only two years ago to 10,000 ducats (or 'near 5000l.) per annum, and the lands of the convent, which 'he enjoyed in full ſovereignty, are now all ſeized by the king

'of

of Dantzick; and it was obſervable, that though one of his pretences, for interfering in the affairs of

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'of Pruſſia, who allows him only 1200 ducats (about 550l.) 'as a penſion during life, and about one fourth of that ſum to 'keep the gardens in order. He is by birth a nobleman, amia'ble and benevolent in his character, paſt the middle age of 'life, and univerſally reſpected. Humanity feels for ſuch a 'man, and execrates the rapacity which has thus reduced 'him!—But this is nothing—this is even generoſity and mercy, 'compared with other ſtories, inconteſtably authentic, which I 'have heard here, reſpecting the Poliſh nobles, whoſe eſtates 'have been confiſcated, and their families reduced from a 'revenue of 100,000 ducats to abſolute indigence, by that 'monarch.' Tour through ſome of the Northern Parts of Europe, p. 334, 345, 350, 352, 360, 361. edit. 1776.

In another letter the ſame ingenious writer ſays, 'On the 'thirteenth of September, 1772, his Pruſſian majeſty's general 'took poſſeſſion of ELBING in the name of his maſter, and 'drove out the Poliſh garriſon of two hundred men, who at'tempted to make ſome defence. The black eagle has now 'ſupplanted the croſs, their antient arms, and appears over 'every gate of the city. They already feel the rigour and 'rapacity of this new government, which threatens to ſwallow 'up all Poliſh Pruſſia, and to extinguiſh freedom and commerce 'in one general ruin.' Ibid. p. 327.

Of MARIENBOURG Mr. Wraxall alſo ſpeaks in the following terms, in a letter written from thence, and dated Aug. 24, 1774. 'The city of Marienbourg was formerly the head of 'a league, which comprehended twenty-ſeven ſmall towns, all 'ſituate in Poliſh Pruſſia, and which held dietines for the re'gulation of their police, municipal privileges, &c. This 'little confederacy has been long extinct, and the town itſelf 'ſhared the ſame fate as Elbing on the ſame day, the Pruſſian 'ſoldiers

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of Poland, was, to support the cause of the Dissidents, yet, when the partition had taken place, those privileges which had been claimed by the Dissidents were not conferred upon them. A variety of new and arbitrary regulations were imposed on the inhabitants of the usurped provinces; and the Jews, of whom there were great numbers in Poland, were treated with so much rigour, that many of them quitted the districts that had been seized by the Prussians and the Austrians, and rather chose to retire into those provinces that had been taken possession of by the Russians [263]. To the Jesuits, in other parts of his dominions, the king of Prussia at the present period was more favourable. Though the pope had abolished the order, an asylum was afforded to them in the Prussian dominions; and Frederick remarked, in a letter to his agent at Rome, that by the treaty of Breslaw, he had guarantied the religion in the state in which it then was; and that he had never met with better priests than the Jesuits. He also directed him to inform the pope, that as he was of the class of heretics, his holiness could not grant him a dispensation for breaking his word, nor from deviating from the duty of an honest man, or a king.

'soldiers having marched in without resistance. There are at 'this time 1600 of them here, which equal the number of in-'habitants in the place.' Ibid. p. 339, 340.

[263] Annual Register, vol. XVII. p. 21.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Frederick's attachment to muſic.—Account of his performance on the German flute, at his private concerts at Sans-Souci.—Particulars relative to the public operas at Berlin.—The king's mode of living at this period.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the variety of buſineſs in which the king of Pruſſia was engaged, his attention to his army, to his finances, to the general adminiſtration of his government, and to foreign affairs, it was ſtill his conſtant practice to devote ſome part of his time to literature, and to muſic. In the latter, he was both a compoſer and a performer; and of his performance on the German flute, at one of his private concerts, at Sans-Souci, we have an account written by Dr. Burney, who viſited the Pruſſian dominions about that period of the king's life, at which I am now arrived. 'I was carried,' ſays that ingenious writer, 'to one of the interior apartments of the palace, in 'which the gentlemen of the king's band were 'waiting for his commands. This apartment was 'contiguous to the concert room, where I could 'diſtinctly hear his majeſty practiſing *Solfeggi* on 'the flute, and exerciſing himſelf in difficult paſ-'ſages, previouſly to his calling in the band. Here 'I met

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'I met with M. BENDA [1], who was ſo obliging 'as to introduce me to M. QUANTZ.'—'We ſoon 'began a muſical converſation: he told me, that 'his majeſty and ſcholar played no other concertos 'than thoſe which he had expreſsly compoſed for 'his uſe, which amounted to three hundred, and 'theſe he performed in rotation. This excluſive 'attachment to the productions of his old maſter, 'may appear ſomewhat contracted: however, it 'implies a conſtancy of diſpoſition, but rarely to 'be found among princes. The compoſitions of 'the two Grauns and of Quantz have been in 'favour with his Pruſſian majeſty more than forty 'years: and, if it be true, as many aſſert, that 'muſic has declined and degenerated ſince that 'time, in which the Scarlattis, Vincis, Leos, 'Pergoleſis, and Porporas flouriſhed, as well as 'the greateſt ſingers that modern times have 'known, it is an indication of a ſound judgment, 'and of great diſcernment, in his majeſty, to 'adhere thus firmly to the productions of a period, 'which may be called the Auguſtan age of muſic. 'To ſtem the torrent of caprice and faſhion with 'ſuch unſhaken conſtancy, is poſſeſſing a kind of

[1] M. BENDA has been before mentioned, in the firſt volume of this work. He entered into Frederick's ſervice ſeveral years before his acceſſion to the throne, in the year 1732. Dr. Burney ſays, "He can boaſt of having had the honour of "accompanying his majeſty, during the forty years he has "been in his ſervice, in near 50,000 different concerts." Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, ut ſupra, p. 140.

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'*ſtet ſol*, by which Apollo and his ſons are prevented from running riot, or changing from good to bad, and from bad to worſe. CHAP. XXXV. A. D. 1773.

'THESE reflections, which occurred to me while I was converſing with M. Quantz, were interrupted by the arrival of a meſſenger from the king, commanding the gentlemen of his band to attend him in the next room. The concert began by a German flute concerto, in which his majeſty executed the ſolo parts with great preciſion: his *embouchure* was clear and even, his finger brilliant, and his taſte pure and ſimple. I was much pleaſed, and even ſurprized, with the neatneſs of his execution in the *allegros*, as well as by his expreſſion and feeling in the *adagio*: in ſhort, his performance ſurpaſſed, in many particulars, any thing I had ever heard among *Dilettanti*, or even profeſſors. His majeſty played three long and difficult concertos ſucceſſively, and all with equal perfection.'

'M. QUANTZ bore no other part in the performance of the concertos of to-night, than to give the time with the motion of his hand, at the beginning of each movement, except now and then to cry out *bravo!* to his royal ſcholar, at the end of the ſolo parts and cloſes; which ſeems to be a privilege allowed to no other muſician of the band. The cadences which his majeſty made were good, but very long and ſtudied. It is eaſy to diſcover, that theſe con-

'certos

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'certos were compoſed at a time, when he did 'not ſo frequently require an opportunity of breath- 'ing as at preſent; for in ſome of the diviſions, 'which were very long and difficult, as well as in 'the cloſes, he was obliged to take his breath, 'contrary to rule, before the paſſages were finiſh- 'ed [264].'—'Beſides the three hundred concertos 'which his majeſty plays, in turn, he has nearly 'as many ſolos, which he performs in the like 'rotation. Upwards of a hundred of theſe have 'been compoſed by himſelf, the reſt by M. 'Quantz [265].'

DR. BURNEY alſo gives an account of the king's public operas at Berlin. 'His Pruſſian majeſty's 'favourite operas,' ſays he, 'are thoſe of his late '*maeſtro di capella*, CHARLES HENRY GRAUN, to 'which he is ſo much attached, as to hear unwill- 'ingly thoſe of any other performer; and the 'overtures and concertos for violins of his brother, 'the concert maſter, M. JOH. GOTTLIB GRAUN, 'but lately deceaſed, are ſtill in high reputation at 'Berlin, though not of the firſt claſs for taſte or 'invention [266].' After giving an account of the chief ſingers of the ſerious opera at Berlin, at this period, Dr. Burney ſays, 'The king being at the 'whole expence of this opera, the entrance is '*gratis*, ſo that any one, who is decently dreſſed,

[264] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 150—155. ſecond edit.

[265] Ibid. p. 161. [266] Ibid. p. 98.

'may

'may have admiſſion into the pit. The firſt row 'of boxes is ſet apart for the royal family and 'nobility; the boxes that are even with the pit, 'and thoſe of the ſecond and third row, are ap-'propriated to the uſe of the miniſters of ſtate, 'foreign miniſters, and perſons of rank, who have 'offices about the court; and a ſtranger of diſ-'tinction, by application to the baron Pollnitz, 'chamberlain, and director of public ſpectacles, 'is ſure of being accommodated with a place in 'the theatre, according to his rank.

'THE performance of the opera begins at ſix 'o'clock. The king, with the princes, and his 'attendants, are placed in the pit, cloſe to the 'orcheſtra. The queen, the princeſſes, and other 'ladies of diſtinction, ſit in the front boxes. Her 'majeſty is ſaluted at her entrance into the theatre, 'and at her departure thence, by two bands of 'trumpets and kettle drums, placed on each ſide 'the houſe, in the upper row of boxes. The 'king always ſtands behind the *maeſtro di capella*, 'in ſight of the ſcore, which he frequently looks 'at, and indeed performs the part of director-'general here, as much as of generaliſſimo in the 'field [267].'

SPEAKING of the general and national ſtyle of muſical compoſition and performance in the Pruſſian dominions, Dr. Burney ſays, 'It ſeems at

[267] Preſent State of Muſic in Germany, vol. II. p. 99, 100, 101: ut ſupra.

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'present to be formed so much upon one model, 'that it precludes all invention and genius.' He adds, 'Though the world is ever rolling on, most 'of the Berlin musicians, defeating its motion, 'have long contrived to stand still. Upon the 'whole, my expectations from Berlin were not 'quite answered; as I did not find that the style of 'composition, or manner of execution, to which 'his Prussian majesty has attached himself, fulfilled 'my ideas of perfection. Here, as elsewhere, I 'speak according to my own feelings. However, 'it would be presumption in me to oppose my 'single judgment to that of so enlightened a mo-'narch, if, luckily, mine were not the opinion of 'the greatest part of Europe: for, should it be 'allowed, that his Prussian majesty has fixed upon 'the Augustan age of music, it does not appear, 'that he has placed his favour upon the best com-'posers of that age. VINCI, PERGOLESE, LEO, 'FEO, HANDEL, and many others, who flourished 'in the best times of GRAUN and QUANTZ, I 'think superior to them in taste and genius.

'OF his majesty's two favourites, the one is 'languid, and the other frequently common and 'insipid; and yet, their names are *religion* at Ber-'lin, and more sworn by than those of Luther 'and Calvin. There are, however, schisms in 'this city, as elsewhere; but heretics are obliged 'to keep their opinions to themselves, while those 'of the establishment may speak out: for though

'a universal

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'a universal toleration prevails here, as to different 'sects of Christians, yet, in music, whoever dares 'to profess any other tenets than those of GRAUN 'and QUANTZ, is sure to be persecuted. Hence, 'the music of this country is more truly German, 'than that of any other part of the empire: for 'though there are constantly Italian operas here, 'in carnival time, his Prussian majesty will suffer 'none to be performed but those of Graun, Agri-'cola, or Hasse, and of this last, and best, but 'very few. And, in the opera-house, as in the 'field, his majesty is such a rigid disciplinarian, 'that if a mistake is made in a single movement 'or evolution, he immediately marks, and rebukes 'the offender; and if any of his Italian troops 'dare to deviate from strict discipline, by adding, 'altering, or diminishing a single passage in the 'parts they have to perform, an order is sent, *de 'par le Roi*, for them to adhere strictly to the 'notes written by the composer, at their peril. 'This, when compositions are good, and a singer 'is licentious, may be an excellent method; but 'certainly shuts out all taste and refinement. So 'that music is truly stationary in this country, his 'majesty allowing no more liberty in that, than he 'does in civil matters of government: not con-'tented with being sole monarch of the lives, for-'tunes, and business of his subjects, he even pre-'scribes rules to their most innocent pleasures [288].'

[288] Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II. p. 231—235.

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was generally after three before he quitted his company. When he roſe from table, he withdrew into another apartment, where coffee was ſerved up, and where he found ſuch perſons as he had previouſly ordered to attend him: for nobody came to Sans-Souci without his particular permiſſion, not even his miniſters, or any of the royal family; and the queen had always a ſeparate court [M]. Even foreign miniſters were obliged to apply to the king by letter, whenever they were deſirous of an audience; and ſo was every other perſon who wiſhed to ſpeak to him. When he was diſpoſed to ſee them, he anſwered their letters [N], and named the day and

'bottle of burgundy, a few glaſſes of champaign, and now and 'then, though rarely, a little cordial after the French manner. 'He continues at table till half paſt three, and converſes very 'good humouredly with his company during the deſert. None 'but generals, colonels, and a few other perſons, ſuited to the 'king's taſte, are admitted to theſe private parties. Strangers 'never dine with the king, but when there is a court, which 'does not often happen, and indeed never at Sans-Souci, which 'is his majeſty's ordinary reſidence.' P. 9, 10.

[M] Dr. Moore ſays, 'His majeſty very ſeldom appears at 'the queen's court, or at any place where women form part of 'the aſſembly.'—'I once ſaid to a lady of this court, that it 'was a pity his majeſty did not love women.' "Conſidering "his time of life," ſaid ſhe, "we could diſpenſe with his "love; but it is hard that he cannot endure us." View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 172, 173.

[N] 'All buſineſs with the king,' ſays Dr. Moore, 'is tranſ-'acted by letters. Every petition or propoſal muſt be made in 'this form, which is adhered to ſo invariably, as I have been 'aſſured,

and minute when they were to attend. When no answer was sent, it was equivalent to a refusal. CHAP. XXXV. A. D. 1775.

At five in the afternoon, he retired to his closet, where he read and signed the letters which had been written by his secretaries, from the directions which he had given them in the morning. In these letters, he often made alterations and corrections with his own hand. At six he went to the music-apartment, in which his concerts were performed, and to which few persons were admitted, excepting the generals who had apartments at Sans-Souci. His concerts ended at seven, after which he either read himself, or employed some of his attendants, or favourites, to read to him. When he retired to his chamber, he was frequently attended by colonel Quintus Icilius [o], with whom he conversed till

assured, that if any of his generals wished to promote a cadet to the rank of an ensign, he would not venture to make his proposal in any other manner, even though he had daily opportunities of conversing with his majesty.' View of Society and Manners, ut supra, p. 237.

[o] Dr. Burney says, 'This officer's original name is Guischard, and that of Quintus Icilius only his *Nom de Guerre*, given to him, in pleasantry, by his majesty, who, when he conferred upon him a command in a regiment, hastily raised and collected from the refuse of all nations, during the heat of the last war, honoured him with the appellation of the commander of Cæsar's tenth legion, a name which has since been adopted by the whole Prussian nation.' Present State of Music in Germany, &c. ut supra, p. 143.

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till he fell asleep [P]. He had no guard in the day at Sans-Souci; but, at six in the evening, four

Colonel Quintus, or Guischard, was well skilled in the learned languages, and in several of the modern; but was chiefly distinguished for his profound knowledge in the tactics of the antients.

[P] It appears, that it was the king's practice to settle every night in his chamber, before he went to sleep, the bill of fare for the next day's dinner. The author of "Observations on "the Military Establishment, &c. of the king of Prussia," who seems to have had very accurate information respecting Frederick's private life, after taking notice of his spending some time every evening in reading, says, 'After which he retires to 'his bed-chamber, where he finds colonel Quintus, with whom 'he converses in a familiar manner. One of his cooks (for he 'has no clerk of the kitchen at Sans-Souci) then brings him in 'a bill of fare for the next day's dinner, with the price of each 'dish marked in the margin. The king strikes out what he 'does not like, and orders something else in its stead, exclaim-'ing at the same time against the roguery of his domestics, but 'after all leaves the prices as he finds them. At the same time, 'he receives the account of his stables, and of the expences of 'his household, kitchen, &c. He puts them all by in order, 'and settles them once a month, when he makes no little noise 'if they happen to be more than usual. But notwithstanding 'all this disturbance, he makes no deduction, but pays the whole 'of the bills. As soon as these domestic matters are settled, 'his majesty undresses himself, gets into bed, and continues to 'joke with Quintus till he drops asleep. The colonel then 'walks gently out of the room on tip-toe, shuts the door after 'him, and returns to Potsdam.' P. 12, 13.

The same writer has also related some farther particulars concerning the king and colonel Quintus. 'His Prussian majesty,' says he, 'is much inclined to joke with the persons he esteems, 'but

four men were sent from Potsdam, with a corporal, who placed a centinel at the door of the palace. This

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'but he sometimes carries his pleasantry rather too far. The 'most frequent object of the king's wit is colonel Quintus. 'This sometimes proves the source of little animosities, which 'soon subside again.'—'The colonel is a man of merit, and a 'good officer. He has published several military works in 'French, and, among others, in 1758, his Military Memoirs 'concerning the Greeks and Romans, in two volumes, quarto, 'with plans and figures. This valuable performance, after 'passing through three editions, has been severely criticised in a 'late publication by count Loloos, a nobleman of great abili-'ties in tactics; and colonel Quintus had the mortification to 'find himself obliged to defend himself, after having enjoyed a 'ten years triumph. The king's remark to him on this subject 'galled him more than any thing else. As this prince was 'rising from table one day, Quintus requested his permission to 'print a new work; "I grant it to you with all my heart," 'replied his majesty, "but I would advise you to ask the consent "of count Loloos." Two days after this, the 'king contrived 'at dinner to turn the conversation on the commanders of his 'light troops in the last war; and observed at the same time, 'with much pleasantry, that these troops had been headed only 'by cut-purses.' "As for Quintus," added his majesty, "he "has found it difficult to leave off those lucrative habits, and "for some years I was obliged to keep a good eye on my purse "and my jewels when he was near me." The colonel, piqued 'at this observation, replied, "It is true, sire, that I have "robbed in my time, but it was by your orders, and the "greatest part of the booty fell to your share." The king pre-'tended not to hear this reply, and immediately turned the con-'versation to some other subject. Quintus, however, with-'drew in a pet to Potsdam, and omitted to wait on the king 'in his bed-chamber, as he had been accustomed to do. The

'monarch,

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This guard returned to Potſdam at four in the morning.

AMONG thoſe perſons, with whom Frederick converſed the moſt familiarly about this period, was the abbé Baſtiani, who had an apartment in the palace. He was an Italian by birth, and poſſeſſed of ſo much wit, that the king was fond of his company. One day, after dinner, Frederick being in a gay humour, ſaid to Baſtiani, "When "you ſhall obtain the tiara, which your exemplary

'monarch, piqued in his turn at this ſtudied neglect, ſent him 'no invitation to dinner, and Quintus remained at Potſdam. 'Eight or ten days paſſed in this manner, and the breach was 'ſuppoſed to be irreparable, when the king began to relent, 'but at the ſame time was unwilling to ſeem to make the firſt 'overture for a reconciliation. He therefore diſpatched one of 'his equerries to Quintus, with orders to aſk the colonel how 'it had happened, that in ten days he had not had time to give 'him an account of the new work he had put into his hands? 'Quintus, knowing he had received no ſuch commiſſion from 'his majeſty, ſent for anſwer that his majeſty muſt certainly be 'miſtaken. The king repeated the meſſage, and the colonel 'repaired to the bed-chamber, where his majeſty converſed with 'him about news, literature, &c. without taking any notice of 'what had paſſed; and the next day he was invited to the king's 'table as uſual.' Obſervations, &c. p. 26—29.

Notwithſtanding the familiarity between the king and colonel Quintus, he is ſaid not to have been very liberal to him in his life-time; but, after the colonel's death, he preſented his widow with ſix thouſand rix-dollars, and gave her an annual penſion of four hundred rix-dollars. He alſo purchaſed her huſband's library for twelve thouſand rix-dollars, which was ſuppoſed to be much more than it was worth. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 81.

" piety must one day procure you, how will you " receive me, when I arrive at Rome to pay my " duty to your holiness?" " I will immediately " give orders," replied the abbé, with great readiness, " *Qu'on fasse entrer l'aigle noir,—qu'il me couvre* " *de ses ailes, mais—qu'il m'épargne de son bec* [269]."

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[269] Moore's View of Society and Manners, &c. ut supra, p. 239, 240.

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*Conteſt between Frederick and the court of Vienna, concerning the ſucceſſion to the electorate of Bavaria.—Manifeſto publiſhed by him at Berlin on that ſubject.—His ſpeech to his general officers, previouſly to his ſetting out for Sileſia.—Peace of Teſchen.—The king writes a panegyric on Voltaire.—Caſe of the miller Arnold.—Frederick interferes in the affairs of Holland, in ſupport of the ſtadtholder.*

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AT the cloſe of the year 1777, died Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria; and this event gave riſe to a new conteſt between the king of Pruſſia and the court of Vienna. The death of this prince, without iſſue, totally extinguiſhed the male Guillielmine, or Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had been in poſſeſſion of that duchy for near five hundred years. Maximilian Joſeph was ſucceeded, both in the electoral dignity, and his dominions at large, by his general heir, Charles Theodore, the elector palatine of the Rhine. At the time of his acceſſion to the Bavarian dominions, this prince was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having no iſſue, the large poſſeſſions of the double electorate, with the dignity appertaining to one, were in the expectation of his apparent heir, the duke of Deuxponts, who was the neareſt relation in the male palatine line. The electreſs-dowager

dowager of Saxony, as only ſiſter, and as the neareſt relation and heir of the late elector of Bavaria, alſo claimed a ſole right in the ſucceſſion to all the allodial eſtates in that duchy. The courſe of the ſucceſſion to Bavaria had been ſettled for ages, was univerſally known, and had even been prepared for by the late prince; the new elector, therefore, found no difficulty in taking poſſeſſion of that duchy with the Upper Palatinate, and of receiving the willing homage of his new ſubjects. But he ſoon met with a very formidable claimant to a great part of his new dominions. He had ſcarcely arrived in his new capital of Munich, before the Auſtrian troops, who had been evidently ſtationed on the frontiers for that purpoſe, and had only waited for an account of the late elector's death, poured on all ſides into the Lower Bavaria, and ſeized on every place to which they came. In the mean time, another ſtrong body advanced on the ſide of Egra to the Upper Palatinate, where the regency in vain pleaded the laws of the empire, and the rights of ſovereignty, againſt the entrance of foreign troops [270].

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A CLAIM had been ſet up, in behalf of the empreſs-queen, to a great part of the electorate of Bavaria; which was founded upon obſolete titles, of more than three hundred years ſtanding, and which appear to have been very ill grounded. But the Auſtrian claim, however defective in reaſon or

[270] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXI. p. 4, 5.

in

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in juſtice, was ſupported by an army of ſixty thouſand men. The new elector, therefore, incapable of oppoſing ſo great a force, and unwilling to engage in a war in the decline of life, entered into a treaty with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen; and a convention was accordingly concluded and ratified, before the middle of January, 1778, between the court of Vienna and the elector, by which the latter, in order to keep part of his new poſſeſſions, gave up the better half of them, and left claims open, which might have ſwallowed a great part of the remainder[271]. This arrangement, however, naturally gave great umbrage to the duke of Deuxponts, who formally proteſted againſt the convention between the court of Vienna, and the new elector of Bavaria; and called upon the princes and ſtates that compoſe the diet of the empire, both in their original character, and as guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, to interfere in the preſervation of his rights.

AT this period the king of Pruſſia thought proper to enter into the conteſt; and as he had no common intereſt, as in the caſe of the partition of Poland, to tolerate acts of injuſtice in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, he undertook the ſupport of the duke of Deuxponts, and the defence of the rights of the Germanic body. Several public acts and memorials were iſſued upon the occaſion by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and ſundry efforts

[271] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra.

were

were made to effectuate an amicable accommodation. But the court of Vienna behaved with much haughtineſs, and theſe efforts were not ſucceſsful. At length, on the ſeventh of July, 1778, Frederick publiſhed a manifeſto at Berlin, which contained the following paſſages: 'His majeſty the 'king of Pruſſia was in hopes, ever ſince the treaty 'of peace of Hubertſbourg, to live in conſtant 'harmony with the court of Vienna, and with that 'view his majeſty has employed all poſſible means 'to cultivate the friendſhip and affection of their 'imperial and royal majeſties the emperor, and 'the empreſs-queen of Hungary. It is, therefore, 'with the greateſt grief and concern, that his 'majeſty finds this good harmony diſturbed, by 'the unexpected diſmemberment of the electorate 'of Bavaria, undertaken by the court of Vienna, 'after the death of the late elector of that country. 'His majeſty could not avoid immediately conſi-'dering theſe proceedings as not only directly op-'poſite to all juſtice, and the known rights of the 'neareſt heirs to the dominions and allodials of 'Bavaria; but alſo as contrary to the ſafety, 'liberty [q], laws, and conſtitution of the Ger-'man

[q] In the public memorials and manifeſtoes of the German princes, and particularly in thoſe of the late king of Pruſſia, much was often ſaid concerning the preſervation of the liberties of the Germanic body. But it muſt be remembered, that, when this phraſe was made uſe of, the liberties of the great body of the

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'man empire; and, therefore, cauſed ſeveral well-'grounded, friendly, and repeated repreſentations 'to be made to their imperial majeſties, in order 'to engage them to deſiſt from their undertaking.' After ſtating how ineffectual theſe negociations with the court of Vienna had proved, and pointing out the injuſtice of the Auſtrian claims, he obſerves, that he thought himſelf in duty bound, as a guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and as an elector and prince of the empire, to oppoſe the diſmemberment of one of the moſt conſiderable electorates of Germany, and to aſſiſt, with all poſſible zeal, the parties thereby oppreſſed. He adds, 'His majeſty 'declares, that his ſole object in this meaſure is to 'ſupport the laws and conſtitution of the German 'empire, which have been injured in the moſt 'arbitrary manner by the very prince, who, from 'his quality as chief of the empire, ought to have 'been their moſt ſtrenuous protector; to aſſiſt 'thoſe princes, his friends and allies, who are 'thereby injured and oppreſſed; and that he has 'no other particular views therein, than his own 'ſecurity, and the maintenance of the ſyſtem of 'the empire [272].'

the common people of Germany, were in no reſpect the object of conſideration. The preſervation of the liberties of Germany means, the preſervation of the rights and privileges of the ſeveral princes and ſtates of the empire, in oppoſition to the power and prerogative of the emperor.

[272] Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 308—311.

BEFORE

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BEFORE the publication of this manifeſto, the king of Pruſſia had made great military preparations; and after a review, in the ſame month, of that part of his army, which lay in the neighbourhood of Berlin, and which was then, as well as himſelf, on the point of ſetting out for Sileſia, he made the following ſpeech to all the general officers preſent, among whom were his brothers Henry and Ferdinand, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick:

'Gentlemen,

'Moſt of us have ſerved together from our 'earlieſt days, and are grown grey in the ſervice 'of our country. We, conſequently, know each 'other perfectly well. We have borne our ſhare 'in the fatigues and dangers of war; and I make 'no doubt but that you are as unwilling to ſhed 'blood as I am. But the dangers, which now 'threaten our country, not only render it a duty, 'but put us under an indiſpenſable neceſſity, to 'employ the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious meaſures, 'to diſpel the ſtorm which now ſeems ready to 'break over our heads. To effectuate theſe im-'portant purpoſes, I rely upon that zeal for my 'ſervice, and that attachment to my perſon, which 'you have always expreſſed, and which I never 'yet failed to experience at your hands: and you 'may reſt aſſured, gentlemen, that I ſhall ever 'acknowledge, with an heart-felt ſatisfaction, the 'ſervices that I am ſure you will render to your

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'king and country. But let me intreat you never 'to loſe ſight of humanity, even when your ene- 'mies are in your power; and to cauſe the moſt 'exact diſcipline to be obſerved by the troops un- 'der your command. As to my own part, I 'wiſh not to travel like a king; rich and gaudy 'equipages have no charms for me; but, infirm 'as I now am, I cannot travel as I formerly did, 'when in the vigour of youth. I ſhall be obliged 'to uſe a poſt-chaiſe. I leave you at liberty to 'do the ſame: but, in the day of battle, you 'ſhall ſee me on horſe-back; and I hope that my 'generals will not fail, in that, to imitate their 'king [273].'

THE Auſtrian army was commanded by the emperor in perſon; and it is ſaid, that when Frederick ſet off from Berlin, he ſent the following ſhort note to one of his principal miniſters of ſtate: 'You will find money enough in the treaſury for 'the public ſupplies. I truſt in God, that I ſhall 'not be long abſent, as I am only gone on a ſmall 'excurſion, in order to teach a young gentleman 'in the neighbourhood his military exerciſe [274].' The campaign, however, was extended to a greater length than the king expected; for though the emperor had not himſelf had much experience in the art of war, he was aſſiſted by general Laudohn,

[273] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXI. p 21, 177. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 222, 223, 224. [274] Ibid. p. 171.

and other very able generals, and had a moſt formidable army under his command. The Pruſſian army was alſo very numerous, and both armies were furniſhed with a great and unuſual quantity of artillery. Before the Pruſſian troops had quitted their own country, the king ordered a preſent of money to all the officers, riſing in due proportions from the enſigns to the generals, as an aſſiſtance towards their camp-equipage, and other charges incident to taking the field; and the ſoldiers were alſo gratified by an augmentation of one fourth, both in their pay and proviſions, from the commencement of actual ſervice [275].

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THE king of Pruſſia having paſſed through Sileſia, then penetrated the mountains of Bohemia, and having ſeized the city, caſtle, and magazines of Nachod, in the confines of that kingdom, without oppoſition, he fixed his head-quarters there in the month of July, whilſt he waited for the arrival, and made roads acroſs the mountains to facilitate the paſſage, of his heavy artillery and ſtores. In the mean time, the emperor had taken an advantageous poſt at Koningſgratz, where his army was very ſtrongly encamped. Several ſubſequent movements were made by theſe great armies; but no action of any conſequence took place; and a negociation was ſet on foot, which at length ended in the peace of Teſchen, which was concluded on the thirteenth of May, 1779. By that treaty it

275. Annual Regiſter, ut ſupra, p. 21.

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was agreed, that the court of Vienna ſhould renounce its pretenſions to Bavaria, retaining only the diſtrict of Burghauſen; that ſix millions of florins ſhould be paid to the elector of Saxony as an equivalent; and that a recognition ſhould be made of the right of the houſe of Brandenburgh to reunite the margraviates of Franconia to their electoral dominions, after the extinction of the reigning family [276]. By this treaty the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was alſo totally annulled, and ſatisfaction was agreed to be made to the duke of Deuxponts.

DURING the courſe of this ſhort war, the king had at one time his head-quarters at Frankenſtein, in Upper Sileſia. He lodged in the houſe of a widow, far advanced in years, who, on his arrival, ſhewed him into her beſt apartment, in which were portraits of her ſix ſons, who had all fallen in battle, and in the king's ſervice. Frederick ſeemed to view theſe pictures with ſome emotion; and fixing his attention more particularly upon one of them, he ſaid, "Had this brave officer lived, he "would now have been one of my generals." He then inquired into the circumſtances of the family, and hearing that the lady had ſtill two daughters unprovided for, he made her a preſent of ſix thouſand ducats [277].

[276] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. par le comte de Hertzberg, p. 27.

[277] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 169, 170.

IN

In the year 1778, Voltaire died at Paris; and the king of Prussia thereupon wrote a panegyric on this celebrated man, which was read at an extraordinary meeting of the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, on the twenty-sixth of November in that year. In this piece, the royal author makes the following observations: 'It has 'ever been the custom of wise and polished nations, 'to respect men of an uncommon and elevated 'genius while alive, and to distinguish them after 'death by peculiar honours. The lustre of ex- 'traordinary abilities reflects glory on the countries 'which produce them. The first legislators, who 'taught mankind to live in society; the first 'heroes, who defended their fellow citizens; the 'philosophers, who, penetrating the depths of na- 'ture, laid open the sources of truth; the poets, 'who transmitted the splendid actions of their con- 'temporaries to future ages: all these have ever 'been regarded as beings superior to the human 'species, and distinguished by the peculiar favour 'of the gods. Hence the altars erected to So- 'crates, the deification of Hercules, the honours 'conferred on Orpheus by the united voice of 'Greece, and the long contested dispute among 'the seven cities which claimed the birth of Homer. 'The Athenian people, whose education was pecu- 'liarly refined, retained the whole Iliad in their 'memories, and celebrated, with transports of 'pleasure, the glory of their antient heroes; pre-

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'ſerved in that immortal poem. The talents of Sophocles, who carried off the palm of tragedy, were likewiſe highly reſpected; and he was inveſted with the moſt honourable employments that his countrymen had it in their power to confer. It is well known how much Æſchines, Pericles, and Demoſthenes were eſteemed.'—The works of Xenophon and Thucydides were admired even by the vulgar; and the meaneſt citizen ſeemed to ſhare the renown of thoſe elevated geniuſſes, who raiſed the name of GREECE above that of every country in the univerſe.

'ROME, ſoon after, furniſhed a ſimilar ſpectacle to the world. The philoſophy and eloquence of Cicero raiſed him to the higheſt honours. The ſhort life of Lucretius prevented him from enjoying his riſing fame; but Virgil and Horace obtained the ſuffrage of imperial Rome, were admitted to the familiarity of Auguſtus, and ſhared the rewards which that artful tyrant laviſhed on thoſe who concealed his vices, by celebrating the glory and felicity of his reign.'—'Such is the reſpect which all ages have paid to thoſe happy geniuſſes, who ſeem to ennoble the human ſpecies, and whoſe writings conſole us for the miſeries of human life! It is reaſonable, then, that we ſhould pay to the manes of that great man, whoſe loſs is deplored by Europe, the tri-

'bute

'bute of admiration and panegyric to which his merit has so justly entitled him [378].' CHAP. XXXVI.

FREDERICK afterwards proceeds to take a view of VOLTAIRE's life and writings. After mentioning his being confined in his youth in the Bastile, he says, 'The unworthy and opprobrious treatment, which he suffered in his native country, excited his indignation; and, soon after his release from the Bastile, he took refuge in England, where he was received most favourably by the public, and where his distinguished merit soon gained him many admirers. At London he finished the Henriade, which he published in that city, under the title of the Poem of the League. VOLTAIRE, who knew how to make the most of every situation, principally applied himself, during his residence in London, to the study of philosophy. The most judicious and profound philosophers then flourished in England. VOLTAIRE got hold of the thread, which had conducted the circumspect LOCKE in the labyrinth of metaphysics. He restrained the impetuosity of his fancy, and subjected it to the laborious calculations of the immortal NEWTON. He made the discoveries of that great philosopher his own, and explained his system with such elegant simplicity, as made it universally under-

[378] The Panegyric of Voltaire, written by the King of Prussia, and translated from the French, 8vo. Lond. 1779, p. 5—10.

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'ſtood. Before this time M. de Fontenelle was 'the only philoſopher who had ſcattered flowers on 'the dryneſs of aſtronomy, and rendered this 'ſcience fit to amuſe the leiſure of the fair-ſex. 'The Engliſh were flattered with finding a French-'man, who, not ſatisfied with admiring the works 'of their philoſophers, tranſlated them into his 'own tongue. The moſt illuſtrious characters in 'London were fond of his ſociety; never did any 'ſtranger meet with ſuch diſtinguiſhed favours; 'yet theſe, how flattering ſoever to his ſelf-love, 'could not extinguiſh the love of his country, 'which carried him back into France. The Pari-'ſians, enlightened by the ideas which ſo learned 'and profound a nation entertained of our young 'author, began to ſuſpect that their city had pro-'duced a great man. Then appeared his Letters 'on the Engliſh Nation; a work in which the 'author deſcribes, with bold and rapid ſtrokes, 'the manners, the arts, the religion, and the 'government of that people. The tragedy of 'Brutus, fitted to pleaſe a nation of freemen, fol-'lowed ſoon after, as well as that of Mariana, and 'a number of other pieces [279].'

THE king afterwards mentions the death of madame du Chatelet, and Voltaire's invitation to the court of Berlin; but paſſes very ſlightly over the cauſes of his quitting the Pruſſian dominions.

[279] Panegyric of Voltaire, ut ſupra, p. 14—17.

He

He obſerves, that while Voltaire 'was yet employ- CHAP. XXXVI.
'ing every effort of his reaſon to check the violence
'of his grief, he was called to the court of Pruſſia.
'The king, who had ſeen him in the year 1740,
'wiſhed to have in his dominions a man of ſo
'uncommon and ſo exalted a genius. In 1752,
'he appeared at Berlin. His converſation was as
'agreeable as it was inſtructive. His knowledge
'was immenſe; his imagination equally brilliant
'and fertile; and his wit always ready. He em-
'belliſhed every ſubject by the graces of his fancy;
'and was, in one word, the delight of every
'ſociety. An unfortunate quarrel, which aroſe
'between him and M. de Maupertuis, divided
'two learned men, who were made to love, and
'not to hate one another; and the war, which
'broke out in 1756, made him take the reſolution
'of fixing his reſidence in Switzerland. He viſit-
'ed Geneva, and afterwards Lauſanne, and at
'length acquired the delicious diſtrict of Ferney,
'where he eſtabliſhed his abode [280].'

AFTER entering into a diſtinct enumeration of many of Voltaire's pieces, and ſpeaking of his various and extenſive abilities, Frederick ſays, 'Such a diverſity of talents, and ſuch a variety of 'knowledge, united in the ſame man, affect the 'readers with ſurprize, mixed with admiration.

[280] Ibid. p. 21, 22.

'Call

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'Call to remembrance, gentlemen, the lives of 'the great men of antiquity, whoſe names are 'handed down to later ages. You will find, that 'each of them confined his talents to one particular 'art. Ariſtotle and Plato were philoſophers; 'Æſchines and Demoſthenes, orators; Homer, 'an epic poet; Sophocles wrote tragedies; Ana'creon, ſongs; Thucydides and Xenophon, hiſ'tories. In the ſame manner, among the Ro'mans, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucretius, were 'poets; Livy and Varro, hiſtorians; Craſſus, and 'the elder Antony, attended only to their plead'ings. CICERO, that eloquent conſul, the guar'dian and father of his country, is the only Ro'man who poſſeſſed the whole compaſs of literary 'attainments. He joined to that commanding 'eloquence, which rendered him ſuperior to all 'his contemporaries, a deep knowledge of the 'philoſophy ſtudied in antient times; as is evident 'from his Tuſculan Queſtions, his admirable 'Treatiſe on the Nature of the Gods, and Books 'of Offices, which contain, perhaps, the beſt 'ſyſtem of morality which we have ſeen to this 'day. CICERO was likewiſe a poet. He tranſlat'ed, into Latin, the verſes of Aratus; and it is 'believed, that his corrections much improved the 'philoſophical poem of Lucretius. It is neceſſary, 'therefore, to run over ſeventeen centuries, before 'we can find, in that immenſe multitude which

'compoſes

'composes the human species, a single man fit to be compared with our Author. It may be said, if I may be allowed so to express myself, that VOLTAIRE alone was equal to a whole Academy. In some of his writings we recognize Bayle, armed with all the arguments of logic: in others we seem to read Thucydides. Here he is a philosopher, prying into the secrets of nature; there a metaphysician, supported by analogy and experience, following, with measured steps, the wary track of Locke. In other performances you find the rival of Sophocles: there he assumes the comic mask; but the elevation of his genius can hardly descend to an equality with Terence and Moliere. Soon you see him mount on fiery Pegasus, who, extending his wings, carries him to the top of Helicon, where the god of the Muses adjudges him his place between Homer and Virgil [281].' CHAP. XXXVI.

IT is certain, that the king of Prussia was extremely partial to Voltaire; but it is equally certain, that this most singular man possessed very extraordinary abilities. Perhaps no author ever acquired, in his own time, such great and general celebrity. The universality of his talents excited astonishment; and the keenness of his wit, the fertility of his genius, and the variety of his produc-

[281] Panegyric of Voltaire, et supra, p. 38—41.

tions,

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tions, continually excited the attention of the literary world, throughout every part of Europe. In early youth he appears to have been prejudiced againſt revealed religion [R]; and there is no reaſon to believe, that, at any period of his life, he

[R] Very early pains appear to have been taken, to infuſe into the mind of Voltaire a diſlike to revealed religion. We are informed by the marquis de Villette, that the abbé de Châteauneuf was Voltaire's god-father, and his firſt inſtructor. This nobleman alſo ſays, that Ninon de l'Enclos one day aſked the abbé de Châteauneuf after his god-ſon; "My dear friend," replied the abbé, "he has been twice chriſtened; but you "would not believe it; for, though he is only three years old, "he knows all the Moïſade by heart." The Moïſade was a poem intended to ſhew, that the Moſaic diſpenſation had no divine origin. It appears, that Voltaire was twice baptized. He was baptized as ſoon as he was born, becauſe it was not expected that he would live; and was afterwards baptized again by another prieſt, who was not acquainted with what had been done before. At his birth, we are told, he ſcarcely breathed. 'He was left to the care of a nurſe, who, during many months, 'came down every morning to the mother, to acquaint her, 'that the child was at the point of death; and, for a long 'time, they had no hopes of preſerving its life. Two perſons 'intereſted themſelves very much in this child's welfare. One 'was monſieur de Rochebrûne, of an antient and noble family 'of le Haute-Auvergne: the other was the abbé de Châteauneuf, a very well informed man, of a lively diſpoſition, and 'very agreeable turn of mind. His behaviour was that of a 'man, who ſubjects himſelf to no reſtraint but that of decorum. He was the friend of Chaulieu, and of the princes de 'Vendome and de Conti. He lived in intimacy with Ninon 'de l'Enclos, and was the laſt perſon ſhe loved.' Life of Voltaire, tranſlated by Mr. Monke, p. 11.

ever

ever examined its evidences with any degree of accuracy or candour. In his own writings, he gave himself little concern about the fairness of his reasonings, or the accuracy of his citations; and he often treated the most interesting and important subjects with a very indecent and censurable levity. He appeared to have an extreme solicitude, to propagate those principles of scepticism and infidelity, by which no man, as an individual, is made happier or better; which are injurious to the interests of society in general; and which are equally unfavourable to the dignity, and to the felicity of human beings. But whatever the demerit of VOLTAIRE in other respects might be, he was undoubtedly entitled to great commendation, for the zeal with which he constantly defended the great principles of religious toleration. As his writings were read, with avidity, throughout every part of Europe, they appear in this view to have been productive of very important and beneficial effects. He had also great merit in exposing the hasty, erroneous, and unjust decisions, which too frequently took place in the French courts of judicature; in sundry instances he nobly distinguished himself as the defender of oppressed innocence; and he exhibited, on various occasions, great humanity and generosity [s].

BUT

[s] FRANCIS MARIA AROUET DE VOLTAIRE was born at Paris on the 20th of November, 1694. His father, Francis Arouet,

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BUT to return to the king of Pruſſia. At the cloſe of the year 1779, an account was publiſhed, under

Arouet, was a reſpectable notary, and treaſurer to the chamber of accounts at Paris. He was a man of letters, and his houſe was much frequented by literary men. Voltaire gave ſuch early indications of an uncommon genius, and of literary talents, that he was ſaid to have made verſes almoſt in his cradle. At ten years of age, he was ſent to the college of Louis le Grand in Paris, which was under the direction of the Jeſuits. His academical exerciſes were greatly admired; and the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos left him, by will, 2000 livres, to purchaſe books. On his leaving college, he was preſſed by his father to engage in ſome profeſſion. "I chooſe no other," ſaid Voltaire, "than that of a man of letters." With this anſwer his father was not pleaſed, and he ſent him for ſome time to ſtudy the law; but he could not be prevailed upon to engage in that profeſſion. His propenſity to ſatire was frequently manifeſted even in his youth, and when he was about twenty years of age, he was impriſoned in the Baſtile, on ſuſpicion of having written a poem againſt the government. When he had been confined almoſt a year, he was ſet at liberty; and afterwards waited upon the duke of Orleans, then regent of France, to return thanks for his deliverance. On that account the duke ſaid to him, "Be wiſe, and I will take care of you." "I am infinitely "obliged to your royal highneſs," replied Voltaire; "but I "beſeech you not to trouble yourſelf, in future, about my "board or lodging."

He afterwards publiſhed ſeveral pieces at Paris; and he went to England in the year 1725, where he was well received, and continued about three years. He publiſhed his HENRIADE at London, by ſubſcription, in the year 1726; and the ſubſcription is ſaid to have produced him more than ſix thouſand pounds. On his return to France, he placed the money, which he carried with him from England, in a lottery, eſtabliſhed by

M. Def-

under Frederick's own direction, of the case of the miller Arnold; an affair which excited much atten- CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1779.

M. Desfortes, comptroller-general of the finances, by which he was a great gainer; and this laid the foundation of that fortune, which afterwards enabled him to live with so much splendour at Ferney.

His tragedy of BRUTUS was exhibited at Paris in 1730, but did not meet with a very favourable reception. The king of Prussia observes, that "it was thought that BRUTUS was more adapted "to the theatre of London, than to that of Paris, because a "father, who should condemn his son to death in cold blood, "would, in France, be regarded as a barbarian; but, in Eng-"land, a consul sacrificing his own blood to the liberty of his "country, is considered as a God." He also published his HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. his tragedy of ZARA, which was received with great applause, and his LETTRES PHILOSOPHIQUES. But a decree of the parliament of Paris having been issued against the latter, he thought proper to quit the capital, and resided for some years at the country seat of madame du Chatelet. In that retirement he composed his ESSAY ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY, his ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF NEWTON, and several of his dramatic pieces. Soon after the death of madame du Chatelet, he repaired to the court of Berlin, and of that period of his history some account has been already given.

After he had quitted the Prussian court, he resided for many years at Ferney; and, during that period, he published his AGE OF LEWIS XIV. and a great number of other pieces. In the last year of his life he went again to Paris, where he was so much visited, and so much courted and caressed, that the change in his mode of living appears to have hastened his death. He died at Paris on the thirtieth of May, 1778, and was interred at Sellières, a Benedictine abbey between Nogent and Troyes. The king of Prussia remarks, that "Although M. de Voltaire

was

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attention, and which was much canvaſſed, throughout the Pruſſian dominions. The caſe of this man was ſtated in the following terms: 'One John 'Michael Arnold, a miller, had bought the leaſe 'of a mill belonging to the eſtate of count Schmettau, of Pommerzig, ſituated in the New Marche 'of Brandenburgh, near the city of Cuſtrin, and 'known in that province under the name of the 'Pommertziger Kerb's Mill. This mill, at the time 'when Arnold bought the leaſe of it, was plentifully 'ſupplied with water, by a river which empties it'ſelf into the river Warta. During ſix years Ar'nold had made various improvements in the ſaid 'mill; and, by means of his labour and induſtry, 'had been enabled to pay his rent regularly, and 'to acquire a ſufficiency for the maintenance of 'his family. At the end of that period, the pro'prietor of the ſaid mill reſolved to enlarge a fiſh-

"was naturally of a delicate conſtitution, and grief, anxiety, "and intenſe application, had greatly weakened his health, he "reached his eighty-fourth year. In his exiſtence, mind pre"vailed in every thing over matter. It was a ſtrong ſoul, "which communicated its vigour to a body almoſt tranſ"parent."

Voltaire died rich; for he appears to have been always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money. He ſeems to have made large ſums by his writings, and he ſometimes engaged in commercial projects. He had a ſhare in a rich mercantile houſe at Cadiz, and other commercial connexions; and had once part of a contract for furniſhing the French army with proviſions, by which he is ſaid to have gained near thirty thouſand pounds.

'pond, contiguous to his ſeat, and cauſed a canal 'to be cut from the ſaid rivulet, at a ſmall diſ-'tance above the mill, to ſupply his fiſh-pond 'with water. By theſe means the current of the 'ſtream was leſſened, and the quantity of water 'ſo much diminiſhed, that the mill could no lon-'ger do the uſual work. The miller had foreſeen 'the event, and from the beginning had remon-'ſtrated againſt the cutting off the canal. But his 'remonſtrances, as well as his ſolicitations for can-'celling the leaſe, proving in vain, he was at laſt 'forced to ſeek redreſs in a court of judicature at 'Cuſtrin, to whoſe cognizance the affair belong-'ed; but his lord, being a man of fortune and 'conſequence in that province, ſoon found means 'to fruſtrate his endeavours. He continued to en-'large his fiſh-pond, ſo that the miller, inſtead 'of obtaining redreſs, found his water daily de-'creaſing to ſuch a degree, that at laſt he could 'only work during two or three weeks in ſpring, 'and about as many in the latter part of the year. 'Under theſe circumſtances, the miller could no 'longer procure his livelihood, and pay his rent, 'and conſequently became indebted to his lord 'for a conſiderable ſum. The latter, in order to 'obtain his rent, entered a ſuit againſt him in the 'ſame court of law at Cuſtrin, which had before 'refuſed relief to the miller, and ſoon obtained a 'ſentence againſt the miller's effects; which ſen-'tence, being approved of and ratified in the high

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'court of appeals at Berlin, was put in execution. 'The miller's leaſe, utenſils, goods, and chattels, 'were ſeized and ſold, in order to pay the arrears 'of his rent, and the expences of a moſt iniquitous 'law-ſuit; and thus poor Arnold, and his family, 'were reduced to want and wretchedneſs [282].'

IN the account publiſhed of this caſe by the king's direction, it was alſo ſtated, that his majeſty having been informed of the injuſtice that had been committed againſt Arnold, and having ſtrictly examined into the truth of the caſe, and afterwards ſummoned the chancellor and judges before him, had made the following declaration: 'The ſen-'tence decreed againſt the miller Arnold, of the 'Pommertziger Kerb's mill, in the New Marche 'of Brandenburgh, being an act of the moſt ſin-'gular injuſtice, and entirely oppoſite to the pa-'ternal intentions of his majeſty, whoſe deſire it 'is that impartial juſtice be ſpeedily adminiſtered 'to all his ſubjects, whether rich or poor, without 'any regard to their rank or perſons; his majeſty, 'in order to prevent ſimilar iniquities for the fu-'ture, is reſolved to puniſh, in an exemplary man-'ner, the authors of that unjuſt ſentence, and to 'eſtabliſh an example for the future conduct of 'judges and magiſtrates in his dominions. For 'they are all to conſider, that the meaneſt pea-'ſant, nay even the beggar, is a man as well as 'the king, and conſequently equally entitled to

[282] New Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 2, 3.

3 'impar-

'impartial juſtice, eſpecially, as in the preſence of juſtice all are equal, whether it be a prince who brings a complaint againſt a peaſant, or a peaſant who prefers one againſt a prince. In ſimilar caſes, juſtice ſhould act uniformly, without any retroſpect to rank or perſon. This ought to be a univerſal rule for the conduct of judges: and if the courts of law in his majeſty's dominions ſhould ever deviate from this principle of equity, they may depend upon being ſeverely puniſhed. For an unjuſt magiſtrate, or a court of law, guilty of wrong, and ſubſervient to oppreſſion, are more dangerous than a band of robbers; againſt whom any man may be upon his guard. But bad men, entruſted with authority, who, under the cloak of juſtice, practiſe their iniquities, are not ſo eaſily guarded againſt. They are the worſt of villains, and deſerve double puniſhment.'—'The king, at the ſame time, hereby ſignifies to all his courts of law, that he has appointed a new high chancellor, and that his majeſty will be very exact for the future, in the examination of his, and of their proceedings. They are, moreover, hereby ſtrictly commanded, I. To bring all law-ſuits to the ſpeedieſt concluſion. II. Carefully to obſerve, that the ſacred name of juſtice may never be profaned by any acts of oppreſſion and injuſtice. And III. To act with the moſt abſolute impartiality towards every one, whether prince or peaſant, with-

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'out the leaſt regard to ſituation in life. And in 'caſe his majeſty ſhould find their proceedings any 'ways contrary to the above orders, they may de- 'pend upon a rigorous puniſhment; as well the 'preſident, as the reſpective judges and counſel- 'lors, who ſhall be found guilty of, or acceſſary 'to, any ſentence directly oppoſite to the funda- 'mental principles of juſtice. Whereof all the 'courts of law, in all his majeſty's dominions, are 'to take notice [283].' This declaration, ſome parts of which are truly excellent, was ſigned by the king himſelf, and dated at Berlin, Dec. 11, 1779.

As Frederick's deciſion in favour of Arnold, and his declaration reſpecting his judges and courts of law, were publiſhed not only in the Pruſſian dominions, but in other parts of Europe, they occaſioned his zeal for juſtice, and the ſteps that he had taken to promote it, to be ſpoken of, in foreign countries, in terms of very high commendation. But, in the Pruſſian dominions, his conduct was cenſured from the beginning: for when the affair came to be truly and properly ſtated, it appeared, that the miller's caſe had been totally miſrepreſented, and that the king himſelf had been guilty of a great act of injuſtice, and treated his chancellor and judges in a moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive manner. It appeared, that Arnold was a man of but indifferent character, and that no proceedings had been carried on againſt him but what

[283] New Annual Regiſter, vol. I. p. 4.

were

were ſtrictly regular and legal. The impediments which he had ſtated, as preventing him from making the uſual profits by his mill, did not in reality exiſt. It was proved, that the fiſh-ponds, of which he complained, had not been made by his landlord, and were not claimed by him; that they were the property of another gentleman, who had an undoubted right to the uſe of the water of the rivulet for the ſupply of his ponds, by a deed of more than two hundred years ſtanding, during all which time the ponds in queſtion had exiſted. It was alſo proved, that Arnold had neglected to pay his rent for more than five years together, and that he had ſuſtained no ſuch injury as he had pretended [384]. The caſe was ſo circumſtanced, that the courts of juſtice could not determine otherwiſe than they did, without acting in oppoſition to the principles of equity, and to the eſtabliſhed laws and uſages of the country. But Frederick, at the ſame time that he exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of his judges, pronounced himſelf a haſty and unjuſt deciſion againſt them, without any proper inveſtigation of their conduct. He had received a falſe information of the tranſaction [T], and precipitately ſuppoſed,

[384] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes of Frederick II. late King of Pruſſia, p. 289, 290.

[T] The king had firſt employed colonel Heucking, an old officer, to procure him the proper information in Arnold's caſe; and this gentleman employed as his agent a man whoſe name was

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1781.

poſed, that injuſtice had been done, becauſe the perſon with whom the miller had contended was a man of rank. The cauſe had been firſt determined in a provincial court, againſt Arnold, and the ſentence was afterwards confirmed in the ſupreme court of juſtice at Berlin. But Frederick not only reverſed the deciſion by his own authority, and turned his chancellor, baron Furſt, and eight of his judges out of their offices, but alſo condemned them to cloſe impriſonment for a year at Spandau. He likewiſe condemned them to pay the full price of the mill, and to reſtore the ſame to Arnold, beſides paying the full coſts of all his ſuits, and making him a compenſation for his loſs of time and buſineſs [285].

BARON Zedliz, one of the confidential miniſters of ſtate, refuſed to counterſign this deciſion againſt the judges; and was, on that account, in diſgrace till the king's death. The court and people of Berlin had ſo ſtrong a conviction of the injuſtice of the king's proceedings in Arnold's caſe, that ſubſcriptions were opened for the ſupport of the impriſoned judges, which amounted to much

Bech, who had formerly been an attorney, and who had been ſtruck off the roll, for iniquitous and illegal practices, by the provincial court in which the cauſe had been firſt tried. This man gave a falſe ſtatement of the caſe, out of reſentment againſt the court; and to this man's repreſentation the king gave implicit credit. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 282.

[285] Latrobe, ut ſupra, p. 287, 291.

more

more than their ſalaries; and the prince-royal of Pruſſia, and the princeſs Amelia, were among the number of ſubſcribers. All the proceedings in the caſe of Arnold have ſince been reverſed. Count Hertzberg ſays of the preſent king, that "he has "cauſed to be abrogated and ſet aſide thoſe arbi- "trary arrangements, which the late king had "made in the famous caſe of the miller Arnold, "and has thus repaired a ſtriking injuſtice, which "that great prince had committed by his miſtakes "and precipitation, and by the conſequences even "of his zeal for juſtice [286]."

THE conduct of the king of Pruſſia, in the caſe of the miller Arnold, ſhews how incapable any deſpotic prince, though of the greateſt abilities, muſt ever be, of the proper adminiſtration of juſtice. In this caſe, Frederick at firſt really intended to do juſtice; but the ſummary manner, in which he attempted to do it, defeated his own end. In conſequence of his neglect of thoſe forms of law, which are neceſſary to aſcertain where the truth lies, he was totally miſtaken; his information was erroneous, and his deciſion unjuſt; and his treatment of his chancellor and judges in the higheſt degree arbitrary and oppreſſive. But he could never afterwards be brought to reverſe his proceedings. He was accuſtomed to perſiſt, with the moſt inflexible obſtinacy, in whatever he had

[286] Mémoire Hiſtorique de la première année du règne de Frederick Guillaume II. Roy de Pruſſe, p. 14.

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1783.

once determined, however erroneouſly, reſpecting his adminiſtration of government, eſpecially when his will and pleaſure had been made publickly and generally known.

IN the year 1783, a memorial was preſented by M. de Thulemeyer, the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague, to the States-general, in which it was requeſted, in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty, that they would take ſuch meaſures as might effectually put an end to the perſecutions which were then carried on againſt the ſtadtholder, and that they would maintain him in the full enjoyment of thoſe prerogatives, which, it was ſaid, were the rightful attributes of his perſon and family. The following year the king himſelf wrote a letter to the ſtates-general, in which he complained of the many libels that were publiſhed in Holland againſt the prince of Orange. He admitted in this letter, that he was "not acquainted with the internal conſti-"tution of the republic in all its parts [287];" but he ſaid, "We know full well, that owing to a "dread leſt the liberty of the republic ſhould be "endangered, the dignity of the ſtadtholder has, "at times, been entirely laid aſide: but with-"out inveſtigating whether ſuch apprehenſions were "grounded or not, certain it is, that they cannot "exiſt at preſent; ſince by the wiſe and ſafe po-"licy that actuates the reigning potentates of Eu-"rope, thoſe reſpective powers are watchful for

[287] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 320.

" the preſervation of each other, and none of them can tamely ſuffer, much leſs contribute, to the ſubverſion of the other [u]. You would ſee us eagerly take the part of the republic, and be the firſt to act in its behalf, were any ſuch deſigns broached againſt the ſtates. But we can SAFELY take upon us to aſſure, that neither the preſent ſtadtholder, nor ANY his moſt immediate ſucceſſors, WILL EVER contrive, or undertake, any thing againſt the freedom or welfare of the republic, as it is inſeparable from their own proſperity. We, on the contrary, COULD pledge ourſelves, that they WILL EVER diſcharge the high and important office of ſtadtholder, and exerciſe its prerogatives, conformably to the intentions and meaning of your high mightineſſes, from which THEY WILL NEVER DEPART; and for this we DO moſt ſolemnly ſtand pledged to the ſtates-general [288]." Frederick farther ſaid, " We flatter ourſelves, that you will conſider theſe our repreſentations merely as the emanations of that FRIENDSHIP, which, as their good neighbour, actuates us in favour of the republic; and alſo as proceeding from that concern, which we muſt naturally feel for an illuſtrious houſe, to which we are ſo nearly allied; and by no means ſuppoſe, that we PRESUME TO MEDDLE in the

CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1784.

[u] Of this obſervation of Frederick, the partition of Poland was an admirable illuſtration.

[288] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 321.

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CHAP. XXXVI. A. D. 1785.

" private affairs of the ſtates, or encroach upon " their freedom, grounded on the firmeſt baſis, " and ſo gloriouſly acquired." But his majeſty added, ſomewhat inconſiſtently, " We cannot, con- " ſidering the ſituation of our dominions, and of " our antient connexions with the republic, for- " bear feeling the deepeſt concern for the fate of " the illuſtrious houſe of Orange, and the conti- " nuance of the ſtadtholderſhip, which we NEVER " CAN TAMELY SUFFER TO UNDERGO ANY AL- " TERATION [289]." On the ſeventeenth of September, 1785, Frederick ſent another letter to the States-general, in which is the following paſſage: " We recommend in the moſt ſerious manner to " your high mightineſſes, the welfare and intereſts " of the lord hereditary ſtadtholder, of our dear " niece, and of their family; and we hope, that " your high mightineſſes will vouchſafe to take " into deliberation, and make the lords of the re- " ſpective ſtates conſider, that we cannot be in- " different reſpecting the cruel and unmerited fate " of perſons ſo nearly related to us; but, on the " contrary, that we ſhall watch over the preſerva- " tion of their welfare, to which by every poſſible " means we ought to contribute [290]."

GREAT diſſenſions had ſubſiſted for a conſiderable time in Holland, reſpecting the ſtadtholder; and the fact was, that his conduct had afford-

[289] Annual Regiſter, vol. XXVII. p. 322. [290] Ibid. p. 365.

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ed too much ground for diſſatisfaction. Count Hertzberg mentions it, as one principal reaſon for the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the affairs of Holland, that he did it, in order "to preſerve the ſtadtholderſhip, and its prerogatives, "to the family of his worthy and incomparable "niece, the princeſs of Orange [291]." The count's ſtatement is extremely candid. But the office of ſtadtholder of Holland was not inſtituted for the benefit of the niece of the king of Pruſſia, or of any of her relations. It was inſtituted for the benefit of the people of Holland, who had an undoubted right to aboliſh the office, whenever they found it uſeleſs or pernicious; and the relationſhip of the king of Pruſſia to the princeſs of Orange, could give him no juſt right to interfere in the domeſtic government of Holland. This interference, however, may ſerve to ſhew, how dangerous and pernicious it is to free ſtates, that their princes or magiſtrates ſhould intermarry in the families of princes highly deſpotic, and poſſeſſed at the ſame time of numerous ſtanding armies. Such princes may avail themſelves of any pretext, the interruption of a lady on a journey, or any other pretence, however trifling and contemptible, for trampling on the rights of men, or diſturbing the peace of nations. No advantages from ſuch alli-

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[291] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année de la vie de Frederick II. p. 28.

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ances are a compenſation for the probable dangers of ſuch connexions.

THE conſtitution of the government of the United Provinces is undoubtedly too ariſtocratical; but the defects of their government ſhould be reformed by the Dutch nation themſelves, and not by Pruſſian troops. No magiſtrate who requires his authority to be maintained by ſuch means, by the aſſiſtance of mercenary troops of another nation, can deſerve any ſupport from the friends of freedom, and the rights of human nature. The inhabitants of Utrecht, and of ſeveral other parts of Holland, were endeavouring to introduce a greater mixture of democracy into the conſtitution of the republic; and, if no foreign power had interfered, their form of government would probably have been gradually and eſſentially improved. The preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, has ſometimes been pretended as a reaſon for ſuch interpoſitions; but it never can be neceſſary for the preſervation of the balance of power, that one nation ſhould claim a right to dictate to another reſpecting their conduct to their own magiſtrates, or whether a particular office of magiſtracy ſhould be continued or aboliſhed. Such interpoſitions are a manifeſt violation of natural right, and are not to be juſtified by any ſuch pretences.

IF the interference of the king of Pruſſia in the domeſtic government of Holland cannot juſtly be defended,

defended, a ſimilar interference on the part of England, muſt be ſtill more indefenſible, and more inconſiſtent. It can ill become a nation, who have cut off the head of one tyrant, and driven another from the throne, to tell the people of Holland, that they ſhall not be diſſatisfied with their ſtadtholder. The prepoſſeſſions of the court of England may lead them to defend the cauſe of the ſtadtholder; but it can never be the intereſt of the people of England, nor in any degree honourable to their character as a nation, to engage in a conteſt in ſupport of the claims of the ſtadtholder, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of a great part of the people of Holland. Of the conduct of the ſtadtholder, the Dutch nation are the ſole and proper judges; nor can the inhabitants of any foreign country have a right to dictate to them, what judgment they ſhall form, or in what manner they ſhall act, reſpecting a magiſtrate of their own creation. Nor can the occaſional improper interferences of France, in ſuch caſes, juſtify ſimilar and equally improper interferences of other nations. Every nation muſt have a natural and unqueſtionable right to regulate its own internal government; and if the Dutch chooſe to remove their ſtadtholder, or to abrogate his office, it would be no neceſſary conſequence, that the balance of power in Europe would be overturned. Indeed, the balance of power ſhould be maintained by other and better means, than by preventing

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preventing the inhabitants of a country from correcting the defects of their own mode of government, or from oppoſing the authority of a magiſtrate, whom they conceive to have violated his truſt.

IT is the intereſt of Great Britain, and of the United Provinces, to be on terms of peace and friendſhip with each other; and the beſt method that England can adopt, in order to prevent France from acquiring an undue aſcendancy in Holland, is to treat the Dutch with equity, to admit all their juſt claims, and to avoid any improper interference in their internal government. It is not very reaſonable to expect, that the inhabitants of Holland ſhould be ready to employ their fleet in ſupport of the liberties of Europe, if they are to be deprived of their own liberties; which is undoubtedly the caſe, whenever they are compelled by foreign powers to an implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of their ſtadtholder, or prevented from making thoſe arrangements in their own domeſtic government, which they may judge to be expedient.

As to the balance of power, it is certainly reaſonable, that attention ſhould be paid by Great Britain to its preſervation; but it does not therefore follow, that Great Britain ſhould take an active, burthenſome, and expenſive part, in every diſpute upon the continent, in matters in which ſhe is not at all intereſted, and in caſes in which the acuteſt politician

politician can hardly determine, on which ſide the balance is likely to preponderate. Whenever ſhe does take any part in continental diſputes, it ſhould be in ſupport of general liberty. That is the part moſt ſuited to the genius of the nation, and which will ever be found in the reſult moſt conducive to its real intereſt and honour.

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*The great attention of the king of Pruſſia to the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the general proſperity of his dominions.—Increaſe of population in the Pruſſian dominions during the reign of Frederick.—Eſtabliſhment of the Germanic union.—Treaty of amity and commerce between Pruſſia and the United States of America.—Death of the king.*

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SOME of the latter years of Frederick, though they were not diſtinguiſhed by ſuch actions as greatly excite the attention of mankind, were yet in reality more illuſtrious than thoſe of any preceding period. During theſe years, he employed extraordinary aſſiduity in the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce throughout his dominions, and in increaſing their population, and general proſperity. Count Hertzberg ſays, 'Agri-culture being the ſureſt means of increaſing population, becauſe it furniſhes the moſt immediate and neceſſary ſubſiſtence to the inhabitants of a country, the king not only rebuilt the villages and farms which had fallen into decay, but alſo cauſed new ones to be erected, and eſpecially in the neighbourhood of rivers. The greateſt part of theſe rivers having formerly overflowed their banks, and overwhelmed much fertile ground, he found means to confine them within their proper

'proper bounds; and, by thus preventing in- CHAP. XXXVII.
'undations, he recovered many acres of excellent
'arable and pasture land, which he gave to foreign
'settlers, on condition that they should build and
'stock their farms; and, to encourage them to do
'this, he granted them, for a number of years,
'an exemption from taxes, and from military ser-
'vice. This was particularly done along the banks
'of the rivers Netz and Warthe, from Driesen to
'Custrin, by which 120,000 acres were recovered
'from the encroachments of those rivers, and in
'which three thousand families obtained settle-
'ments. The same was effected on the banks of
'the Oder, from Custrin to Oderberg; along the
'Havel and the Elbe, round the great lake of
'Madue in Pomerania, and in the march of
'Fiener in the province of Magdeburg; and also
'in the environs of Potsdam, and in a great num-
'ber of other places throughout the provinces.'—
'On these newly recovered lands, the king built
'between five and six hundred villages and ham-
'lets, and established more than 42,000 families.'—
'In travelling over these lands, it affords great
'pleasure to find flourishing colonies, good build-
'ings, fine fields, rich pasture grounds, and num-
'berless herds of cattle, where formerly nothing
'was to be seen but water and marshes [292].'

[292] Dissertation sur la Population des Etats en général, et sur celle des Etats Prussiens en particulier, p. 9, 10.

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THE ſame noble writer informs us, that 'the king, not ſatisfied with having built all theſe villages, and eſtabliſhed ſo great a number of families, by colonies of foreigners, and of natives, alſo advanced, to many gentlemen and landholders, ſums, amounting to ſeveral millions of crowns, in order to enable them to clear and to improve their eſtates. Theſe ſums were either a free donation, or were lent at the low intereſt of one or two per cent. the produce of which was appropriated for penſions to ſchool-maſters, and to the widows or daughters of poor officers. By theſe means he cauſed to be cleared, and to be cultivated, almoſt all the land which was capable of it, and which was in any degree worth the labour.'—'He likewiſe gave to cultivators of land, of every kind, more than three hundred hereditary farms, or poſſeſſions, out of his own demeſnes.'—'He alſo promoted the intereſts of agriculture, by cauſing the ſeeds of lucerne, trefoil, and lupin, to be diſtributed to every farmer who would apply for them; by ordering a great number of cows to be purchaſed for many; and by directing large ſums to be expended every year in premiums and bounties, in order to encourage farmers to proſecute every kind of rural induſtry.

'ONE of the principal means which the king adopted, in caſe of bad harveſts, in order to prevent famine, and its depopulating conſequences,

'was

'was to erect, in every province, immenſe ſtore- CHAP. XXXVII.
'houſes for corn, for the ſubſiſtence of his army in
'time of war, and of his other ſubjects in ſeaſons
'of natural ſcarcity. By purchaſing this corn, he
'kept the price of it ſufficiently high to encourage
'the huſbandman; and, by opening his ſtores,
'could at any time prevent the market from riſing
'ſo as to diſtreſs the people. By theſe means the
'Pruſſian dominions, though not remarkable for
'extraordinary fertility, ſuffered nothing, and were
'even able to ſupply their neighbours, in the
'dreadful famine of 1772, the effects of which
'were ſo fatal in ſome of the moſt fertile parts of
'Germany [393].'

FREDERICK was equally attentive to manufactures and to commerce. Manufactures and trades of almoſt all kinds were either eſtabliſhed by him, or received encouragement from him, at Berlin, at Potſdam, and in every other part of his dominions. 'We are in poſſeſſion,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'of 'almoſt every poſſible kind of manufacture, and 'can not only excluſively ſupply the Pruſſian domi-'nions, but alſo furniſh the remote countries of 'Spain and Italy with linen and woollen cloths. 'Our manufactures go even to China, where ſome 'of our Sileſian cloths are conveyed by the way of 'Ruſſia. We export every year linen cloth to the 'amount of ſix millions of crowns, and woollen 'cloths and wool to the amount of four millions;

[393] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 11, 12, 13, 14.

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'which, added to the iron-works and hardware of the county of Mark, which brings into circulation about a million of crowns, to the timber of Brandenburgh and Pomerania, to the corn, flax, and timber of Prussia, and to the important Polish trade that we carry on through Konigsberg, Memel, Elbing, Dantzick, and Stettin, affords us sufficient evidence of the balance of trade being very decidedly in our favour. So many manufactures naturally give subsistence to a great number of workmen, and draw many foreigners into the country; and the augmentation of this class of citizens necessarily increases the general population. We have in the different dominions of the king about 123,000 workmen, who work in silk, in woollen, in linen, in cotton, in leather, and in other materials, various kinds of merchandize, to the amount of sixteen millions of crowns, of which eight are for foreign consumption. If we compute that the family of every workman consists only of four persons, our manufactures give subsistence to half a million of people.'

'THE king protected and encouraged manufactures in every possible manner, especially by advancing large sums of money to assist them in carrying on their manufactures, animating them by rewards, and establishing magazines of wool in all the little towns, for the benefit of the small woollen manufacturers. It was with a view to encourage trade, that the inhabitants of Berlin

'and

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'and Potſdam were exempted from military ſervice; and his majeſty granted nearly the ſame indulgence to the inhabitants of the circles of the mountains of Sileſia, where the poor, but induſtrious and ſober weavers, and who are ſettled in a narrow and barren diſtrict, carry on thoſe flouriſhing linen manufactures, which produce us an exportation of ſo many millions [294].'—'The navigation of the Pruſſian dominions was likewiſe greatly benefited and increaſed, by the countenance and protection which the king gave to his flag, which was reſpected every where; and even by the inhabitants of Morocco. We employ, in the maritime provinces, Pruſſia, Pomerania, and Eaſt Frieſland, twelve hundred veſſels; and, if we reckon ten men for the crew of every veſſel, this trading marine gives employment and ſubſiſtence to twelve thouſand ſeamen. Our own national veſſels carry almoſt the whole of the importation and exportation of the Pruſſian dominions; and they begin to carry on a conſiderable coaſting trade, eſpecially the veſſels from Embden [295].'

AMONG the different manufactures which were patronized and encouraged by Frederick, he was particularly attentive to the ſilk manufacture [v]; and

[294] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 15, 16. [295] Ibid. p. 18.

[v] Count Hertzberg ſays, 'The king adopted every method 'of favouring and encouraging the growth of mulberry trees,

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and it made, during his reign, a very rapid progreſs. He alſo endeavoured to introduce the Engliſh manufactures into his dominions; and, with that view, he gave ten thouſand crowns, in the year 1784, for machines for carrying on the Manchester manufactures [296]; and four thouſand crowns, in 1785, towards eſtabliſhing a manufactory of Engliſh earthen-ware at Konigſberg [297].

By the various methods that the king adopted for increaſing the number of his ſubjects, the population of his dominions was ſo much augmented, as to be nearly double what it was at his acceſſion, without taking into conſideration his new acquiſitions. Count Hertzberg, after ſtating the population of the Pruſſian dominions, in 1784, to amount to ſix millions, ſays, 'When the king aſcended the throne, in 1740, the whole population of his dominions amounted to 2,240,000

'and the culture of ſilk; eſpecially by advancing ſums of 'money, and by cauſing houſes and rooms to be built for ſmall 'cultivators. Hence we ſee that this ſpecies of culture has 'made a great progreſs, and chiefly by the zeal for the promo'tion of it, that hath been excited in the country clergy, by 'rewards in money, medals, and other diſtinctions. This is 'an object of the greater importance to the ſtate, as, during 'three months of the ſummer, it affords employment and ſub'ſiſtence to a number of perſons, who are too young, or too 'old, for more laborious occupations, and this without any 'prejudice to agriculture.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 17.

[296] Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 25.

[297] Diſſertation ſur la véritable Richeſſe des Etats, &c. par M. de Hertzberg, p. 43.

'perſons.

'persons. If to this be added two millions for 'the population of Silesia, West Prussia, and East 'Friesland, as the three provinces that the king 'acquired, and if these two millions are deducted 'from the sum total of six millions, there will re-'main for the increase of the population of the 'antient provinces the number of 1,770,000, 'which is nearly double the amount of the anti-'ent population; and if that of the new pro-'vinces be taken into the account, population 'hath been nearly trebled [298], during the reign of Frederick [x].

TOWARDS the close of his reign, Frederick issued an order, that when any of his subjects came near him, or had any thing to present to him, they should not approach him kneeling [299]; that, he said, being an improper posture, on any other oc-

[298] Dissertation sur la Population, &c. p. 23.

[x] Of the whole increase of population in the Prussian dominions, during the reign of Frederick, I cannot speak with such full and entire approbation as seems to be expressed by count Hertzberg. The king was undoubtedly entitled to great applause, for many of the methods by which he endeavoured to extend the population of his country; but I can never speak with commendation of that increase of the general population of the Prussian dominions, which was occasioned by an augmentation of territory not justly acquired, and by forcibly dragging away many thousand families from their native country, merely for the aggrandizement of the Prussian monarchy, without the least regard to justice or to humanity.

[299] Anecdotes and Characteristics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 126.

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caſion but that of addreſſing the Supreme Being. About the ſame time he alſo made a ſecond reform in the laws, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, under the direction of the high chancellor, De Carmer; by which the principal direction and management of law-ſuits was left to the judges, and the influence of the advocates was greatly diminiſhed. It has, however, been juſtly ſuppoſed, that too much power was given to the judges by the new arrangement, and that the Pruſſian ſubjects have been deprived of ſome ſecurity againſt the partiality of judges, by the reſtraints that have been put upon the advocates by the new regulations.

In the year 1785, a ſcheme was formed by the emperor, to prevail on the elector-palatine, by the offer of a crown, to agree to an exchange of the duchy of Bavaria, including all thoſe appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teſchen, for the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be conſtituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. To this ſcheme the elector-palatine appeared inclined to agree; but it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia, who entirely prevented it, by propoſing what is called the GERMANIC UNION, which was formed at Berlin on the twenty-third of July, 1785; and by which many of the electors, and moſt conſiderable princes of the empire, agreed to prevent any ſuch exchange as that of Bavaria, and to unite together,

gether, in order to preſerve inviolate the preſent Germanic ſyſtem and conſtitution. CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

In 1786, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between the king of Pruſſia, and the United States of America. The miniſters employed, for the negociation of this treaty, were, on the part of the king of Pruſſia, baron Thulemeyer, and on the part of the United States, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Eſq; and Thomas Jefferſon, Eſq. It was ſtipulated by this treaty, that there ſhould be a firm, inviolable, and univerſal peace, and ſincere friendſhip, between his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, his heirs, ſucceſſors, and ſubjects, on the one part, and the United States of America, and their citizens on the other, without exceptions of perſons or places. That the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia might frequent all the coaſts and countries of the United States of America, and reſide and trade there in all ſorts of produce, manufactures, and merchandize; and that they ſhould pay within the ſaid United States no other or greater duties, charges, or fees whatſoever, than the moſt favoured nations did, or ſhould be obliged to pay; and they were to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and exemptions, in navigation and commerce, which the moſt favoured nation did or ſhould enjoy [300]. In like manner, the citi-

[300] Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States of America, and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, 8vo. 1786, p. 6, 7.

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CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

zens of the United States of America might frequent all the coasts and countries of the king of Prussia, and reside and trade there, with the same privileges; but both the Prussians and the Americans were to conform to the laws of the country in which they were resident. Each of the contracting parties were to endeavour, by all the means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which should be within the extent of their jurisdiction, by sea or by land. The antient and barbarous right to wrecks of the sea was to be entirely abolished, with respect to the subjects or citizens of the two contracting parties [192]. This treaty, in framing of which the enlightened and benevolent mind of Dr. Franklin is supposed to have been chiefly employed, also contained several excellent regulations for preventing cruelty to prisoners in case of war, for allowing them the necessary provisions when in confinement, and for putting a stop to the depredations of privateers, and other calamities incident to a time of war.

FREDERICK had now attained to the age of seventy-four years, and was in full possession of those uncommon powers of understanding, by which he had always been distinguished. But his body was not equally vigorous with his mind. He had in

[192] Treaty, ut supra, p. 13.

general

general enjoyed good health, though he had several times been afflicted with the gout; but his bodily diſorders now began to increaſe, and he was extremely dropſical, without being himſelf ſenſible that he had that diſorder. He continued, however, to apply himſelf to the public buſineſs with his uſual aſſiduity. 'He employed the ſame indefatigable attention,' ſays count Hertzberg, 'to the 'internal government of his kingdom, and to the 'management of his affairs, during the laſt ſeven 'months of his life, as he had done formerly, and 'with the ſame ſucceſs, notwithſtanding the painful malady with which he was all that time afflicted.'—'Notwithſtanding his deſperate ſituation, he did not remit for a moment his practice 'of reading all the diſpatches of his foreign miniſters, or of dictating every morning, from four 'till ſeven, the anſwers that were to be ſent immediately to thoſe diſpatches [Y], and maintaining a regular correſpondence with the miniſters 'of his cabinet, and thoſe for foreign affairs, on 'all great political concerns.'—'He kept up the 'ſame exact and daily correſpondence with the mi-

CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

[Y] It is ſaid that, at this period of his life, and when he was thus employed, one of his ſecretaries, at the very time that he was preſenting a paper to him, fell down dead at his feet. The king appeared not in the leaſt affected by the accident, but cooly ſaid, "Let the body be taken away;" and having ſent for another ſecretary, went on with his buſineſs, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tome IV. p. 115.

'niſters

CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

'niſters in the department of juſtice, and in that 'of the finances; and he directed himſelf, with-'out any miniſter or general, the whole of the mi-'litary correſpondence, dictating his orders to his 'ſecretaries and aids-du-camp. I remember, that, 'a few days before his death, he even prescribed 'to theſe laſt all the manœuvres that were to be 'performed at the reviews in Siléſia, adverting to 'the minuteſt circumſtances of locality. At the 'ſame time, he ſent for general D'Anhalt to Potſ-'dam, in order to direct ſome new military ar-'rangements, for the raiſing of free battalions, to 'expedite the movement of the army in caſe of a 'war. He likewiſe ordered to attend him, at 'Potſdam, the miniſters of ſtate De Hoym and 'De Werder, and the privy-counſellor Schutz 'from Pomerania, to ſettle with them ſome new 'plans for the cultivation of land, and the im-'provement of manufactures, which he propoſed 'to have executed in 1787, in the different pro-'vinces; and particularly that which he had ſo 'much at heart, to have new villages built at his 'own expence in all the diſtricts, where the huſ-'bandmen reſided on plains of too great extent, 'or where population appeared to be too limited. 'He alſo took particular pleaſure in the execution 'of a deſign that he had formed, of cauſing three 'hundred ſheep and rams to be brought from 'Spain, in order to improve the breed of our own 'flocks. As theſe ſheep were to paſs, a few days

'before

'before his death, by Potſdam, he expected them with impatience; being deſirous, as he himſelf ſaid, that ſome of them might come "to pay him a viſit at Sans-Souci [***]." CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

In the month of June, 1786, Dr. Zimmermann, who is well known for his valuable medical productions, and his other ingenious writings, arrived at Potſdam, in order to attend the king as a phyſician. He was treated by Frederick with much more reſpect, than he was accuſtomed to manifeſt towards gentlemen of the medical profeſſion; and he had many converſations with him on literary and other ſubjects. Though the king's legs were then much ſwollen with the dropſy, he aſſured Dr. Zimmermann, that it was not that diſorder with which he was afflicted. But he was too far gone to derive any aſſiſtance from that able phyſician, who left Potſdam a ſhort time before the king's death.

Of the behaviour of Frederick, during ſome of the latter weeks of his life, the following account has alſo been publiſhed by count Hertzberg, who attended him to the moment that he expired: 'The laſt five weeks of his life,' ſays the count, 'from the ninth of July to the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, when he died, I paſſed by his deſire at his 'palace of Sans-Souci. The counts De Schwerin, 'De Gortz, De Lucchefini, and De Pinto, who 'were with him three or four hours a day, can

[***] Mémoire Hiſtorique ſur la dernière année, &c. p. 6, 9.

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join me in the atteſtation, that though much ſwollen and incommoded with the dropſy, ſo that he could not move, without aſſiſtance, from a chair in which he reſted day and night, not being able to enjoy the comfort of a bed, and though it was evident that he ſuffered dreadfully, he never betrayed the leaſt ſymptom of uneaſineſs, or any diſagreeable ſenſation; but preſerving always his ſerene, contented, and tranquil air, and without ever ſpeaking of his condition, or of death, he converſed with us, in the moſt cordial and agreeable manner, on the public news, on literature, on antient and modern hiſtory, and particularly on rural affairs and gardening, to which he was greatly devoted, and which he never ceaſed to cultivate. His regular and conſtant cuſtom was, after having read, night and morning, the diſpatches of his foreign ambaſſadors, with the reports military and civil of his generals and miniſters, to ſend either at four or five o'clock, as the exigency of affairs might require, for his three cabinet ſecretaries in ſucceſſion, to one of whom he dictated the anſwers to be given to each of his miniſters at foreign courts, which he afterwards communicated to me; and to the other two his orders and anſwers to miniſters of ſtate, or to generals, upon matters of military concern, or of finance, or of juſtice, as well as his anſwers to the letters and applications of individuals; and that in ſo minute and regu-

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'lar a manner, on ſubjects wonderfully combined, 'that the ſecretaries had nothing to do but to add 'the titles, dates, and the uſual formalities. Having diſcharged this buſineſs, at about ſeven or 'eight o'clock, he ordered in the commandant of 'Potſdam, the lieutenant-general De Rohdich, 'and his aids-de-camp, to give them verbal orders relative to the duties of the garriſon for the 'day. It was not till he had thus fulfilled all the 'duties of a ſovereign, that he for a few moments 'ſaw his ſurgeon, and ſometimes a phyſician, in 'order to pay that attention to the ſtate of his 'body which neceſſity required. About eleven, 'the counts De Schwerin, De Gortz, De Lucchefini, and De Pinto, with myſelf, went to him, 'and converſed with him till the clock ſtruck 'twelve, when he diſmiſſed us, and took his dinner alone. In the afternoon, he ſigned all the 'diſpatches and letters which he had dictated in 'the morning, and which his ſecretaries were obliged 'to prepare by that time. He again ſent for us 'at five o'clock, and kept us with him till eight, 'when we withdrew to ſupper, and left him to 'paſs the remainder of the evening, in having paſſages read to him from antient authors, ſuch as 'Cicero, Plutarch, &c. and in reading afterwards 'ſuch new diſpatches as he had received, and then 'taking ſuch ſleep as his condition would permit 'him. This courſe of life was invariably continued till the fifteenth of Auguſt, on which day

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'he dictated and signed his dispatches, in a manner that would have done honour to a minister 'the most conversant in the routine of business. 'It was not till the sixteenth of August, that he 'ceased to discharge the great functions of a king, 'and of a minister of state, on which day he was 'deprived entirely of sense, and on the morning 'of the seventeenth he exhaled his mighty soul, in 'my presence, and in that of the respectable physician, Dr. Selle, without any convulsive motion [m].'

Such was the end of this great and celebrated monarch, who died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and in the forty-seventh of his reign. He was interred, with great funeral pomp, on the ninth of September following. The church, in which the royal remains were deposited, was entirely hung with black; and on six columns were paintings, in grey, intended to exhibit some of the most remarkable circumstances and transactions of the reign of Frederick. The first painting represented the king's conquests in Silesia; the second, the great stand made by him, against such numerous and powerful enemies, during the seven years war; the third, the embellishments of the towns, and the cultivation of waste lands, throughout the Prussian dominions; the fourth, the taking possession of Western Prussia; the fifth, the Germanic Union; and the sixth, the protection afforded, during

[m] Mémoire Historique, ut supra, p. 8, 9, 10.

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the reign of Frederick, to the arts and ſciences. Six trophies were alſo erected within the church, on which were inſcribed the names of twelve of the principal battles fought during his reign; namely, MOLWITZ, CZASLAU, SOHR, HOHEN-FRIEDBERG, KESSELDORFF, LOWOSITZ, PRAGUE, ROSBACH, LISSA, ZORNDORFF, LIGNITZ, and TORGAU. In eleven of theſe battles, Frederick himſelf had commanded, and was victorious. The battle of KESSELDORFF was gained by the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau. CHAP. XXXVII. A. D. 1786.

FREDERICK left behind him a will, of which the following is a tranſlation: 'After having reſtored 'peace to my kingdom; after having conquered 'countries, raiſed a victorious army, and filled my 'treaſury; after having eſtabliſhed a good admi-'niſtration throughout my dominions; after hav-'ing made my enemies tremble; I reſign, with-'out regret, this breath of life to Nature. I leave 'to my very dear nephew, Frederick William, 'my conquered and acquired countries; my 'caſtles, my buildings, my gardens, my paintings, 'my wardrobe, and my furniture; on condition, 'that he tenders the trifles which I deſtine to my 'family, as a mark of my remembrance of them; 'for my eſtates, my treaſure, and my people, are 'his inheritance by birthright. I deſire my ne-'phew to leave to the queen, my conſort, what 'ſhe has at preſent, and to add 10,000 crowns 'per annum. She never gave me the leaſt unea-

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'fineſs during my whole reign, and ſhe merits 'every attention and reſpect for her many and un-'ſhaken virtues. I leave to my brother Henry '200,000 crowns; the Chryſopraſe ring ſet with 'diamonds, which I wear; one of my moſt beau-'tiful Chryſtal chandeliers; and fifty anthiels of 'Hungarian wine. To my brother Ferdinand '50,000 crowns, a coach, and eight horſes. To 'princeſs Amelia 10,000 crowns, and a ſervice of 'ſilver. To princeſs Henry 6000 crowns per an-'num. To princeſs Ferdinand 10,000 crowns per 'annum, and a box ſet with diamonds. To the 'ducheſs-dowager of Brunſwick 50,000 crowns, 'and a ſilver ſervice. To the duke of Brunſwick 'two Engliſh horſes, and their furniture. To duke 'Ferdinand a handſome ſnuff-box, garniſhed with 'brilliants, becauſe he has always been my friend.' 'To prince Frederick of Brunſwick 10,000 crowns. 'To the ducheſs of Wurtemberg, mother to the 'grand ducheſs, 20,000 crowns. To the prince, 'her conſort, a diamond ring. To the dowager 'landgravine of Caſſel 10,000 crowns. I recom-'mend to you, my dear nephew, my brave and 'noble army; all my old officers, particularly thoſe 'who were about me; all my houſehold, and my 'ſervants; let them ſerve you; and if they are 'old, endeavour to provide for them. My firſt 'battalion of life-guards ſhall have two crowns 'each man; the ſtaff-officers each a medal, repre-'ſenting one of the moſt memorable actions of

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'the war of ſeven years, that they may remember me, and their own glory. The little legacies that I have left are not out of the treaſury. That is not mine: it belongs to the ſtate. Look upon it always as ſuch, my dear nephew. Theſe legacies proceed from my ſavings, and I hope you will fulfil my laſt requeſts. To be a king is a chance, but never forget that you are a man. I flatter myſelf, that there will be no diſagreement in my family. Private views ſhould be forgotten for the well-being of the ſtate. Let harmony reign among you, for the honour and glory of your anceſtors, and for the common good.'

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## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Character of Frederick III. king of Pruſſia.—Farther account of his writings.—Additional anecdotes.*

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FREDERICK, the third king of Pruſſia, was in his perſon below the middle ſtature; but his limbs were well formed, and he had a healthful and vigorous conſtitution. The portraits of him, at different periods of his life, exhibit a conſiderable diverſity of appearance. In his earlier years, he ſeems to have poſſeſſed a handſome countenance, and a graceful figure; but he was afterwards much altered by the perpetual fatigues that he underwent. In the latter part of his life, he ſtooped conſiderably in the ſhoulders; and his head was almoſt conſtantly inclined on one ſide. He was ſhort-ſighted; but he had fine blue eyes, full of vivacity and fire; and his look was expreſſive of uncommon keenneſs and penetration. His tone of voice was extremely clear and agreeable; and he ſpoke ſeveral of the modern languages with eaſe and gracefulneſs. He talked much, and with great ſprightlineſs, and excelled at repartee. In converſation, his features acquired a degree of animation, which no portraits could exhibit; and though not generally fond of the company of women, he yet diſplayed great vivacity in converſing with ſuch ladies, as were poſſeſſed of any ſuperior merit

merit. His intellectual powers were great; and when we advert to his situation, and to the little care that had been taken of his education, it must be acknowledged, that his literary acquisitions were considerable. He had much general knowledge of the sciences, and was extremely conversant with French writers in polite literature; but he is said to have been very imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language; and he acquired his knowledge of the great authors of antiquity, both Greek and Roman, chiefly through the medium of French translations. He was partial to the literature of France; but, in the latter years of his life, this partiality was much abated. His memory was uncommonly retentive; and he recollected the faces of those soldiers, who had served in his own regiment, when prince, more than forty years after. In his convivial hours, among his favourites, he was chearful, facetious, witty, and sarcastic. But his railleries on those, who were admitted to his familiarity, were often too biting; though he sometimes met with very smart retorts, and which he generally received with good humour. CHAP. XXXVIII.

His conduct and character were very various, and at different times appeared in a very different light. His predominant passion was the love of glory; and this often led him to those actions, which would extend his fame, and excite the attention of mankind, rather than to those which were dictated by virtue. He may truly be said to

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have been covetous of fame: for he wiſhed to unite in his own perſon the reputation of a great king, a wiſe legiſlator, an illuſtrious hero, an accompliſhed general, a fine poet, and an enlightened philoſopher. But though he loved fame more than virtue, and was more ſolicitous to extend his reputation, and to enlarge his dominions and his power, than to regulate his conduct by the principles of juſtice and humanity; he wiſhed, notwithſtanding, for the praiſe of virtue, even when his actions were in direct oppoſition to its cleareſt dictates. Hence it aroſe, that his conduct was often variable and inconſiſtent; and that the ſame man ſometimes appeared an unfeeling tyrant, and at other times mild, gentle, and humane.

ONE great object of his aim appears always to have been, the aggrandizement of his dominions; and in this he would probably have ſucceeded much more than he did, if his conduct, at the beginning of his reign, had not ſo ſtrongly excited the jealouſy and apprehenſion of his neighbours, and produced ſo formidable a confederacy againſt him. There is reaſon to believe, that he had formed great ſchemes, which the number of his enemies prevented him from being able to put in execution. Had France and Ruſſia not united againſt him, he might, perhaps, have totally cruſhed the houſe of Auſtria, and overturned the whole Germanic ſyſtem.

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ACTIVE, enterprizing, indefatigable, and intrepid, he kept his neighbours in continual alarm; and their apprehenſions of him were the greater, becauſe he ſeemed ſcarcely to ſcruple any means that would effectuate his purpoſes. In the conduct of his affairs, he poſſeſſed the moſt unremitting vigilance, the moſt unwearied induſtry, and the keeneſt ſagacity in ſeizing thoſe deciſive moments, which were the moſt favourable to the promotion of his views. At periods, and in ſituations, of uncommon difficulty, and uncommon danger, he diſplayed the higheſt degree of courage, aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and the greateſt magnanimity. No dangers, no difficulties, no fatigues, could deter him from the proſecution of thoſe ſchemes, to which he was prompted by his ambition, and his love of fame. In attention to his army, to his government, and to the general concerns of his kingdom, he was probably the moſt indefatigable prince that ever exiſted. Every department of government was under his own immediate inſpection; and the moſt minute particulars of national domeſtic policy did not eſcape his obſervation. And, notwithſtanding the many faults in his character, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe, that no prince then in the world employed ſo much time and attention as FREDERICK did, for the laſt twenty years of his life, in promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the general proſperity of his dominions, ſo far as was conſiſtent

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with his mode of government, and with the maintenance of his own power and authority.

As he was born heir to a deſpotic monarchy, and trained up from his infancy in military ideas, theſe circumſtances ought to be taken into conſideration in judging of his character. But with the taſte for literature, and the diſtinguiſhed talents that he poſſeſſed, he would probably have been a better man, and a better king, if he had not ſo early imbibed the pernicious ſcepticiſm of VOLTAIRE. Though he wrote againſt Machiavel in his youth, he yet appears to have adopted much Machiavelian policy; and, on many occaſions, his conduct appeared to be more characterized by craft and ſubtilty, than by generoſity, or true dignity of mind. The caſe of baron Trenck, his treatment of the inhabitants of Saxony, and other inſtances, alſo afford evidence of too convincing a nature, that he could occaſionally be guilty of great cruelty.

HIS talents as a general were of the very higheſt order. In this character, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by the rapidity of his marches, his ſkill in the art of encampment, and the dexterity of his manœuvres; by the fertility of his expedients, and his extenſive knowledge of military ſcience; and by the promptitude with which he availed himſelf, even in the heat of action, of every circumſtance that could be turned to his advantage. He was ſometimes chargeable with raſhneſs; but it was in

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those cases, in which he had some important object in view, for the promotion of his general designs; and, in such cases, he sacrificed the lives of his men, with a readiness that reflected no honour on his character. CHAP. XXXVIII.

THOUGH naturally and generally parsimonious, he was occasionally magnificent and liberal. He was also kind to his domestics, if they properly discharged the duties of their stations; and manifested a great attachment to some of his generals, and others, whom he favoured with his friendship. His love of music accompanied him through life; and except at those times when the circumstances of war, or other affairs of importance, rendered it impracticable, he attended his concerts with almost as much uniformity and exactness, as his military reviews. His ablest musical performers were with him in the camp; and in his most active and busy campaigns, he always devoted some time to musical performances, and to the pursuits of literature. With all his faults, he was undoubtedly a great king, possessed of very splendid qualities; and, indeed, one of the most distinguished and extraordinary princes, of whom the records of history have preserved to us any memorial.

OF several of the literary performances of the king of Prussia, I have already given some account. His poetical compositions, which, excepting his poem on the Art of War, consist chiefly of odes and

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and epiſtles, have paſſed through many editions, under the title of OEUVRES MELEES DU PHILOSOPHE DE SANS-SOUCI. There are variations in the different editions; and an edition was printed at Lyons, in 1760, which contains ſome paſſages, that were omitted in moſt of the editions printed at Potſdam, in order to avoid giving offence to foreign courts. Beſides the proſe pieces which have been already mentioned, the king alſo wrote Letters on Patriotiſm, and a Letter concerning German Literature. He likewiſe left behind him, in manuſcript, Memoirs of his own time, from the year 1740 to the peace of Dreſden; a Hiſtory of the war of ſeven years; a Hiſtory of the tranſactions from the peace of Hubertſbourg, together with the occurrences relative to the treaty of Teſchen, and ſome other pieces: all which have been announced for publication at Berlin, under the direction of count Hertzberg.

IN his "Inſtructions for the Generals of his "Army," Frederick has diſplayed great military knowledge; and ſome paſſages in theſe inſtructions are not unworthy of attention. 'If I were ſolely 'attentive,' ſays he, 'to my own glory, I would 'always make my own country the theatre of war: 'for there every inhabitant is a ſpy; ſo that it is 'impoſſible for the enemy to take a ſingle ſtep, of 'which I am not inſtantly informed; and I can 'without danger harraſs and perplex him with 'large detachments, as often as I think fit.'—

'When we make war in a neutral country, there appears to be no advantage on either side. It, therefore, depends upon each army, to try which of the two can moſt effectually obtain the confidence and friendſhip of the inhabitants.'—'If you are in a Proteſtant country, as in Saxony for inſtance, you are to act the part of a zealous protector of Lutheraniſm; and to inſpire the common people, whoſe ſimplicity is eaſily impoſed upon, with religious enthuſiaſm. If the people are Roman Catholics, you are to talk of nothing but toleration, and throw all the blame of the violent animoſity between the different ſects of Chriſtians upon the prieſts of each; who, notwithſtanding their diſputes, are agreed in the fundamental articles of faith. With regard to detachments in a neutral country, you are to be very circumſpect, unleſs you are well aſſured of the good will of the inhabitants, or at leaſt of the greateſt part of them. In an enemy's country, as in Bohemia and Moravia, it behoves you to act with infinite caution; and, for the reaſons mentioned, never to truſt a detachment at any conſiderable diſtance from your main body. You muſt carry on all your operations under your own eye. Your light troops are to be chiefly employed in eſcorting your convoys. You are not to expect ever to be able to gain the affection of the inhabitants. The Huſſites, in the circle of Koningſgratz, are the only people that can be

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'made at all uſeful. As for the nobility, they are 'all traitors, notwithſtanding they pretend to be 'well diſpoſed towards us. It is their intereſt to 'ſide with the houſe of Auſtria, and therefore it 'were fooliſh to depend upon any of them [304].'

IN the third article of his Inſtructions, Frederick ſays, 'As ſoon as you enter an enemy's 'country, you muſt ſeize all the brewers and diſtillers who are to be found in the neighbourhood, 'and oblige them in particular to furniſh gin, that 'the ſoldier may be ſupplied with a liquor, without 'which he cannot poſſibly exiſt [305].' In the article relative to magazines and ſubſiſtence, he ſays, 'It 'is neceſſary to be very circumſpect in the choice 'of commiſſaries; for if theſe gentlemen happen 'to be raſcals, the ſtate will ſuffer conſiderably. 'You muſt, therefore, endeavour to find a ſuper-'intendant of known probity, who will frequently 'and minutely examine their proceedings [306].'

IN the "Inſtructions for the Light Troops," the king ſays, that the firſt care of an officer, commanding an advanced guard, muſt be, 'to ſur-'round his poſt with a chain of ſentries, or *videts*, 'in ſuch a manner, that nothing can poſſibly ap-'proach him without his knowledge. Videts are 'to be double; and—it being ſuppoſed, that one 'of the two videts is a man to be depended on,

[304] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, &c. p. 74—77.

[305] Ibid. p. 16. [306] Ibid. p. 9, 10.

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'the officer will remember to give him orders, CHAP. XXXVIII.
'that when he has any thing to report, he must
'always diſpatch his comrade to the guard, leſt
'being left alone he might deſert. The two videts
'ought never to ſeparate, unleſs when one goes
'with a report to the guard. If one of them
'ſhould attempt to deſert, the other muſt inſtantly
'blow out his brains; for he muſt be anſwerable
'for the fidelity of his comrade [107].'

ONE of the king's inſtructions, relative to the methods to be employed for obtaining intelligence of the enemy, deſerves to be noticed for its ſingular iniquity. 'When you find it very neceſſary,' ſays Frederick, 'yet very difficult, to gain any intelli-
'gence of the enemy, there is another expedient,
'though a cruel one. You take a rich burgher,
'poſſeſſed of lands, a wife, and children. You
'oblige him to go to the enemy's camp, as if to
'complain of hard treatment, and to take along
'with him as his ſervant, a ſpy who ſpeaks the
'language of the country; aſſuring him, at the
'ſame time, that, in caſe he does not bring the
'ſpy back with him, after having remained a ſuf-
'ficient time in the enemy's camp, that you will
'ſet fire to his houſe, and maſſacre his wife and
'children. I was forced to have recourſe to this
'cruel expedient, when we were encamped at
'———. IT ANSWERED MY PURPOSE [108].'

[107] Military Inſtructions, written by the King of Pruſſia, &c. p. 176—183.

[108] Ibid. p. 70.

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To compel a peaceable citizen to act as a traitor to his own country, and to induce him to do this, by assuring him, that otherwise his house would be fired, and his wife and children massacred, is an idea that could have been suggested only by a man, who supposed, that the most sacred ties, divine and human, were to be sacrificed to the ambition of princes.

To the anecdotes of Frederick which have been already given, in several parts of this work, I shall here add a few more, which may tend, in some degree, still farther to illustrate his character.

AFTER the second Silesian war, the king travelled into different parts of his dominions, and among other places arrived at Cleves, where he ordered the public accounts to be laid before him. On examining them, he found that a considerable annual sum was paid, out of the revenue arising from the ducal forests, to the monks of the monastery of Minorites in that town; and inquiring on what account, was informed, that the money was left by former dukes, that a certain number of masses should be said daily for their souls. Upon this the king expressed a desire to see the monastery; and being conducted thither, he found the monks arranged in two rows; and, immediately upon his entrance, they struck up the Ambrosian hymn. 'Who are these?' said Frederick. 'They are,' said

ſaid the prior, 'the monks who read maſſes for the 'ſouls of the late dukes, in order to procure their 'releaſe from purgatory.' 'My poor couſins 'continue a long time in purgatory,' ſaid the king; 'can you tell when they will be releaſed?' 'That, 'ſire,' replied the prior, 'is a point very difficult to 'be determined; but the moment that I am 'acquainted with their being removed out of pur-'gatory, I will immediately diſpatch a meſſenger 'to Potſdam, to give your majeſty information of 'their deliverance.' The king ſmiled, and turning to one of his attendants, ſaid, "There is no "doing any thing with this man: he has ſtudied "among the Jeſuits [309]."

In a Roman Catholic town, in Sileſia, ſeveral of the ſilver offerings, dedicated to the virgin Mary, were diſcovered to be miſſing. A ſoldier was ſuſpected, and the things being found in his poſſeſſion, he was condemned to death as a ſacrilegious robber. But he reſolutely denied the commiſſion of any theft; aſſerting, that the virgin, out of compaſſion to his poverty, had preſented him with the offerings. The ſentence, however, as uſual, was laid before the king for his confirmation; but upon reading the caſe, and the defence of the ſoldier, he ordered the opinions of ſeveral Popiſh clergymen to be taken, whether, according to their religion, the miracle was impoſſible? They replied, that

[309] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tom. IV. p. 21, 22. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 146, 147.

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the caſe was extraordinary, but not impoſſible. The king then ſaid, that the ſoldier could not be put to death, becauſe the divines of his own religion allowed that it was poſſible, that the offerings might have been given him by the virgin Mary, as he had ſtated. 'But,' added Frederick, 'I ſtrictly charge 'him, upon pain of death, never to receive here-'after any preſent from the virgin Mary, or from 'any ſaint whatever.'

AT a review in Pruſſia, a woman made application to the king, requeſting that he would grant her ſon, who was a private ſoldier in the guards, leave of abſence, that he might have an opportunity of viſiting her. The king did not comply with her requeſt; but, upon his return to Potſdam, he informed the ſoldier, that his mother was in good health, and deſired to be affectionately remembered to him. The following year the king was again in Pruſſia, and the woman came again to requeſt the ſame favour. The king knew her immediately; and, before ſhe could ſpeak a word, told her, that "her ſon was well, and would be "very glad to ſee her at Potſdam [310]."

FREDERICK was one day converſing with an Engliſh gentleman, about the ſtate of affairs in England, at a time when a great part of the nation appeared, from the public prints, to be engaged in a violent oppoſition to the government. After ſundry inquiries and remarks, the king began to

[310] Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 202.

talk

talk in a very high tone, concerning the measures which he would have adopted, if he had been king of England. The Englishman coolly replied, "If your majesty were to be king of England, "you would not continue in your office three "days." CHAP. XXXVIII.

ONE evening, at the time when he had regular supper parties, he facetiously put the question to each of those who supped with him, what he would do if he were king of Prussia? In general, they made very flattering answers; but when he put the question to D'Argens, the marquis replied, "By "my faith, sire, I would sell my kingdom, in "order to purchase a province of France with "it [211]."

A major-general in the Prussian service, who was an able officer, and a man of merit, was observed frequently to speak in very strong terms of the blessings of liberty, and the humiliating chains of despotism. This being reported to the king, Frederick wrote to him, 'Monf. major-'general, I must beg that you will no longer con-'tinue to play the part of Brutus in my dominions; 'or, otherwise, I shall be obliged to conspire 'against your liberty [212].'

IN the year 1753, a literary man sent to the king the plan of a literary work, and a letter, in which he informed him, that Voltaire and Mon-

[211] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Prusse, vol. IV. p. 6.
[212] Ibid. p. 25.

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teſquieu had expreſſed their approbation of his deſign, and had ſubſcribed to his work; but that he did not chooſe to reſolve upon publication, till he had alſo the honour of his majeſty's name. Frederick wrote back: "You are too difficult: the "names that you have mentioned to me, are worth "more than thoſe of all the kings in Europe. I "will, however, add my name to your liſt, that "I may have my name enrolled with theirs [313]."

THE princeſs Elizabeth Chriſtina Ulrica of Brunſwick, who was married, in 1765, to the prince-royal of Pruſſia, was afterwards divorced from him, and kept in a kind of confinement at Stettin. At the time when this princeſs was in that ſituation, ſhe gave orders to have ſome rich ſtuffs ſent from Lyons, and directed to her at Stettin. As foreign ſtuffs pay a very large duty in the Pruſſian dominions, the collector of the cuſtoms thought proper to detain them, becauſe the princeſs had given no directions for the payment of the duty. The princeſs was highly incenſed at this; but ſent word to the collector, that ſhe would ſatisfy his demands, and deſired him to come himſelf with the ſtuffs for that purpoſe. Her orders were obeyed, but the collector was no ſooner introduced into her preſence, than ſhe took the ſtuffs from him with great indignation, and at the ſame time gave him two or three cuffs in the face. The collector, enraged at this treatment, addreſſed a long and very formal

[313] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 7, 8.

memo-

memorial to the king, ſetting forth how much he had been diſhonoured in the performance of his duty. To this complaint Frederick returned, in his own hand, the following anſwer: 'The loſs of 'the duty muſt be placed to my account; the 'ſtuffs muſt remain with the princeſs; the cuffs 'with him that received them. As to the ſuppoſed 'diſhonour, I cancel it at the requeſt of the com-'plainant: but it is of itſelf null; for the white 'hand of a fair lady cannot poſſibly diſhonour the 'face of a cuſtom-houſe officer [314].' CHAP. XXXVIII.

THE lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice, and the lady of the preſident of the chamber of revenue, at Cleves, had frequent diſputes about precedency; and the lady of the preſident of the court of juſtice inſiſted, that, in all public aſſemblies, ſhe had a right to take place of the other. This enraged her rival to ſuch a degree, that ſhe wrote to the king, and deſired that his majeſty would determine, which of the two ladies had a right to walk firſt. Frederick returned the following laconic anſwer: "Let the greateſt fool walk "firſt."

MONS. T. a lieutenant-colonel and engineer in the French ſervice, deſerted, and came to Potſdam, where he was preſented to the king under the aſſumed title of count D. Frederick finding him to be a man of talents, accepted his ſervices, and

[314] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 23, 24.

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gave him good appointments; and the pretended count introduced a lady, under the character of his wife, to the queen and princeſſes. The princeſs-royal was particularly civil to her, and often invited her to her table. About a year after the arrival of this couple, the pretended counteſs died; and not long after, to the aſtoniſhment of every one at Potſdam, the count's real wife made her appearance; and it then came out, that the deceaſed was a courtezan, whom he had picked up at Paris. This ſtory made much noiſe, and ſoon reached the king's ears, who thereupon wrote the Frenchman the following letter:

'Lieutenant-colonel count D. or Mr. T.

'When I thought you could be uſeful to me, 'it was a matter of indifference to me whether 'you had a wife, or a miſtreſs. With my uſual 'indulgence, therefore, I overlook your inſolence 'in introducing her to the royal family. She is 'dead, and the affair is at an end. I adviſe you, 'however, to reflect a little, before you think of 'introducing this other lady, who has juſt made 'her appearance. Content yourſelf with ſerving 'me faithfully. At your age and mine, it is time 'to have done with the women.

'FREDERICK [215].'

[215] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 68, 69.

A PRO-

A PROFESSOR of the univerſity of Halle, named Eberhard, had been appointed miniſter of Charlottenbourg by the conſiſtory. But the inhabitants of that town, who were deſirous of having another perſon for their miniſter, proteſted againſt the appointment, alleging, that Eberhard had written an apology for Socrates. The conſiſtory, however, rejected the repreſentations of the people, who thereupon preſented a petition to the king, in which they ſtated, that they could not truſt the care of their ſouls to a man, who had maintained, in a public writing, that Socrates, though a heathen, would be ſaved. Frederick returned their petition, with theſe words added at the bottom: "It is my "pleaſure that Socrates ſhould be ſaved, and that "Eberhard ſhould be your miniſter [346]."

A CLERGYMAN, who was miniſter at Valangin, had been turned out of his office, for having preached againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. He applied to the king for redreſs, who ordered him to be reinſtated in his benefice, and exhorted the people of Valangin to act, for the future, in a more tolerant and rational manner. Great oppoſition, however, was ſtill made to the clergyman, and a remonſtrance upon the ſubject was preſented to the king, in which it was ſtated, that the people were determined to hear nothing ſaid againſt the doctrine of eternal damnation. As it was an affair of religion, Frederick did not chooſe to engage any far-

[346] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 32.

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ther in the conteſt; and, therefore, returned the remonſtrance, with theſe words added at the bottom: "If my loving ſubjects in Valangin chooſe "to be damned eternally, I have nothing to ſay "againſt it [317]."

THE magiſtrate of an inconſiderable village in the electorate of Brandenburgh, had committed a burgher to priſon, who was charged with having blaſphemed God, the king, and the magiſtrate. The burgomaſter reported the ſame to the king, in order to know what puniſhment ſuch a criminal deſerved. In the margin of the priſoner's caſe, which was tranſmitted to him, Frederick wrote with his own hand the following ſentence: 'That the priſoner 'has blaſphemed God, is a ſure proof that he does 'not know him; that he has blaſphemed me, I 'willingly forgive; but as he has blaſphemed the 'magiſtrate of the town, he ſhall be puniſhed in 'an exemplary manner; and, therefore, I order 'him to be committed priſoner to the fortreſs of 'Spandau, for half an hour [318].'

IN the courſe of his ſecond war with the empreſs-queen, we are told, that his valet de chambre was prevailed upon to attempt to poiſon him. Frederick, who is ſaid to have been an excellent phyſiognomiſt, obſerving ſomething unuſual in the

[317] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 33, 34. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 112, 113.

[318] Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. I. p. 161, 162. Latrobe's Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 131.

look

look of the man that morning, and that he trembled when he gave him his chocolate, he fixed his eyes upon him with great ſteadfaſtneſs, and ſaid to him at the ſame time, "I am certain, that you "have been bribed to poiſon me." The man denied it; but the king gave the chocolate to a dog, and the animal died in about two hours. He did not, however, put the man to death; but having learned from him in what manner he had been bribed, and by whom, he contented himſelf with ſending him priſoner to the fortreſs of Spandau, from whence he was releaſed ſome years after [319]. CHAP. XXXVIII.

On ſome occaſions Frederick diſcovered great ſenſibility. He was much attached to lieutenant-general count Rothenburgh; and, in the latter years of that general's life, ſeemed not to be eaſy, if he was long without his company. During the general's laſt illneſs, the king frequently ſat by his bed-ſide for hours. When he received the news of the general's death, he haſtily left his palace, half-dreſſed, and croſſed the ſtreet to the general's houſe. He ſhed tears at the ſight of his body, but ſtill ſeemed to entertain hopes that he was not dead; for he ſent immediately for a ſurgeon, ordered a vein to be opened, and held the baſon himſelf. When he found, that the general could not be brought again to life, he left the houſe in

[319] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. of the King of Pruſſia, p. 15.

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great agitation, indulged his grief in private, and would ſcarcely ſee any company for ſeveral days.

FREDERICK had a very high reſpect for the memory of the great elector, Frederick William, whom he conſidered as the greateſt prince of his family. When an antient cathedral was demoliſhed, in which ſome of the electors had been interred, their coffins were obliged to be removed; and the king gave orders, that the coffin of the great elector ſhould be opened. He was preſent himſelf on the occaſion, attended by two of his aids-de-camp. He viewed the corpſe of the elector, which was well preſerved, with great attention, for a conſiderable time, without ſpeaking a word. At length, taking hold of the elector's hand, he ſaid, with great emotion, "Gentlemen, he did great things!—" Shut the coffin [310]."

IN the ſecond Sileſian war, the king rode out, with very few attendants, to reconnoitre the enemy. A party of pandours lay in ambuſcade in a wood, through which he was obliged to paſs, and who fired ſeveral times at him, and thoſe who were with him, but without effect. At laſt a ſoldier, who was with the king, called out, "Sire, ſave "your life: a pandour behind the next tree is aiming at your majeſty." The king turned round with great coolneſs, and ſeeing the pandour, who had juſt taken his aim, called out to him in a me-

[310] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 36, 37. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 66, 67.

racing tone, "You! you! there, Sir!" The pan- CHAP. XXXVIII.
dour was ſo ſtruck with the king's look, manner, and commanding voice, that he immediately grounded his firelock, took off his hat, and ſtood in a reſpectful poſture, till the king had paſſed by [321].

AT the battle of Roſbach, the king ſaw a French grenadier, who though manifeſtly overpowered, defended himſelf with great gallantry, and refuſed to ſurrender; upon which the king rode up to him, and ſaid, "Brave grenadier, are you invincible?" "Yes, ſire," replied the grenadier, "if you were "to command me [322]."

A FOREIGNER, who had ſettled in the Pruſſian dominions as a coloniſt, and who ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſo uſeful that the king would not willingly loſe him as a ſubject, took an opportunity of addreſſing him, when he was making one of his tours through his dominions, and told him, that he ſhould leave the country, with his wife and children, and go where he could be much better off. He hoped by this ſpeech to have induced the king to grant him ſome farther advantages; but Frederick coolly replied, "You are perfectly right, "my good friend; for if I knew a place, where "I ſhould be better off than where I am, I would "certainly go there myſelf [323]."

[321] Latrobe, p. 231, 232. [322] Vie de Frederick II. tome IV. p. 27. [323] Characteriſtic Anecdotes, p. 114, 115.

THE

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THE king was one day looking out of a window, at the palace of Potſdam, when he ſaw a crowd of people aſſembled together, and reading a paper that was ſtuck againſt the wall. He ſent one of his pages to read it, and inform him what was the ſubject. The page returned, and acquainted him, that it was a libel againſt his majeſty, in which his character was very ſeverely treated. Frederick remarked, that the paper was placed ſo high, that people could not read it with any conveniency. He, therefore, ſent his page back, to take it down, and ſtick it up lower, that thoſe perſons, who paſſed that way, might read it more at their eaſe [324].

DR. Moore, ſpeaking of Frederick, ſays, 'He 'uſes a very large gold ſnuff-box, the lid ornamented with diamonds, and takes an immoderate 'quantity of Spaniſh ſnuff, the marks of which 'very often appear on his waiſtcoat and breeches. 'Theſe are alſo liable to be ſoiled by the paws of 'two or three Italian greyhounds, which he often 'careſſes [325].' He was much attached to dogs; and Mr. Latrobe informs us, that 'he had ſeveral 'of theſe animals of whom he was particularly 'fond, and in all his rooms were a number of ſmall 'leather balls, with which he uſed to play with

[324] Vie de Frederick II. Roy de Pruſſe, tome IV. p. 23. Anecdotes and Characteriſtics of Frederick the Great, vol. II. p. 161, 162.

[325] View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 236.

'them.

'them. One of them, called *Biche*, was his par- CHAP. XXXVIII.
'ticular favourite, had been his companion in many
'of his campaigns, and at her death he erected a
'small monument to her memory, in his gardens
'at Potsdam [326].'

[326] Characteristic Anecdotes, p. 17.

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*Observations on the Military eſtabliſhment of Pruſſia, and on the Pruſſian Government.—Concluſion.*

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THE military eſtabliſhment of the Pruſſian dominions, by which an army of at leaſt two hundred thouſand men is conſtantly kept up [z], is ſo much beyond what might naturally be expected in a country of ſuch moderate extent, that it cannot be ſupported without heavy taxes being laid upon the people [A], and a very rigid œconomy

[z] The preciſe number of men in the Pruſſian army, including officers, in the year 1782, was 215,938. Hiſtorical Account of the Pruſſian army, by the baron de Helldorff, 8vo. Lond. 1783, p. 35.

[A] Dr. Moore obſerves, that 'all commodities are highly 'taxed in the Pruſſian dominions. At Berlin, though money 'is a great deal ſcarcer than at London or Paris, a ſtranger will 'find very little difference in the ordinary expence of living. 'There are no means by which his revenue can be augmented, 'which this king has not tried. He has taxed even the vanity 'of his ſubjects, and drawn conſiderable ſupplies ſince the be-'ginning of his reign from that plentiful ſource. The rage 'which the Germans, above all men, have for titles, prompts 'many of the wealthy citizens to purchaſe that of ſome office 'about court; and although the king employs no perſon void 'of abilities, he never ſcruples to permit this kind of traffic. 'The title, however, is literally all that is ſold: for with re-'gard to the real buſineſs of the office, the purchaſer has as lit-'tle

nomy being maintained on the part of the government. Of the manner in which the native troops in Prussia are raised, the following account has been given: 'The king's dominions are divided 'into a certain number of cantons, or districts, 'each of which is obliged to raise a certain number 'of men. Not only each regiment, therefore, but 'each company of a regiment has its particular CHAP. XXXIX.

'tle connexion with it after the bargain as before. Though 'his majesty scarcely ever consults with any body, he has more 'nominal privy-counsellors than any king in Christendom.' View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 198.

The subjects of Prussia are so heavily taxed, that the inhabitants even of Berlin are not able to support a tolerable theatre. M. Riesbeck says, in his Travels, (vol. III. p. 52, 53.) that 'though the inhabitants of Berlin, including the garrison, 'amount to one hundred and forty-two thousand men, yet it is 'not able to keep up a good company of players.'—'You 'would imagine, that the officers alone, who are constantly 'from eight to nine hundred in number, would be sufficient to 'keep up a good theatre; but it is not so. In truth, this is 'one of the most eminent marks of the poverty and parsimony 'of the people of this place.'

It has been pretended, and Riesbeck professes to be of that opinion, that Frederick imposed such heavy taxes upon his people from maxims of a very refined policy, and in order to prevent luxury in his dominions. Undoubtedly, to lay such heavy taxes upon commodities, as would hinder persons even in the middle ranks of life from obtaining the conveniencies of it, was a very admirable method of preventing luxury. This will appear the more manifest, if it be farther considered, that all this was done, that the imposer of these taxes might be enabled to support an enormous army, to enslave his own subjects, and to keep his neighbours in perpetual alarm.

'district:

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'district: and at the age of sixteen, every peasant, 'mechanic, merchant or citizen, has his name in- 'serted in the war-list of his canton; and is obliged, 'when called upon, to join the regiment, or com- 'pany, belonging to that district. For it is very 'seldom, and only upon extraordinary occasions, 'that persons enrolled in one canton are allowed 'to be turned over to another corps; not even to 'the guards; because these have likewise their dis- 'tricts for national recruits, and are supplied only 'with foreigners from the rest of the army. When 'any regiment, or company, is in want of fresh 'men to supply the place of such as are dead, or 'dismissed from the service, a field-officer, com- 'monly the major of the regiment, goes into the 'canton, and chooses the number requisite to sup- 'ply the deficiency. This business is conducted 'in a very impartial manner; the subjects selected 'being always such as are the best fitted for ser- 'vice, and who are the least wanted at home. 'Among the peasantry, the eldest son is usually 'exempted from the service, that he may be edu- 'cated to husbandry; and when a farmer has only 'one son, it seldom happens that he is forced into 'the army, unless he be remarkably tall and well 'made [327].'

DR. Moore says, 'Whatever number of sons a 'peasant may have, they are all liable to be taken

[327] Observations on the Military Establishment of the King of Prussia, p. 76, 77.

'into

'into the ſervice, except one, who is left to aſſiſt in the management of the farm. The reſt wear badges from their childhood, to mark that they are deſtined to be ſoldiers, and ready to ſerve when the ſtate requires them.'—'The king, however, endeavours to ſave his own peaſantry, and draw as many recruits as he can from other countries. For this purpoſe, there are Pruſſian officers employed at Hamburgh, Franckfort, and other free towns of Germany. I have ſeen them alſo at Neufchatel, and at places near French garriſons, attempting to enliſt men, and pick up deſerters. The recruits procured in this manner, remain continually with the regiments in which they are placed; but the native Pruſſians have every year eight or nine months of furlough, during which they return to their fathers or brothers houſes, and work at the buſineſs of the farm, or gain their livelihood in any other way they pleaſe [B]. Here is at once an immenſe ſaving,

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[B] Count Hertzberg ſays, that 'it would not be difficult 'to ſhew, that the Pruſſian army is a true national militia, ſuch 'as that which the Romans had, and which the Engliſh have 'deſired to have, but never had.' Diſſertation, ut ſupra, p. 19. I perfectly agree with the count, that the Engliſh never had ſuch a national militia as that of Pruſſia; and I do moſt ſincerely hope, that they never will, in any period of the hiſtory of the world, be in poſſeſſion of ſuch a militia. But I cannot agree with this noble writer in ſuppoſing, that the army of Pruſſia bears any very near reſemblance to the militia of the antient Romans.

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'saving, in the expence of the army, and a great 'gain to the state from the labour of so many 'men [118].'

WITH respect to the discipline of the Prussian army, it has been observed, that 'in Prussia, the 'soldier is instructed in a very methodical man-'ner. When he is first brought to the regiment, 'he is placed under the care of a serjeant, who 'teaches him how to walk, and to hold up his 'head, as well as the use of his firelock; and he 'is every day inspected by an officer, who is care-'ful to see that he is properly instructed. For 'some days he is treated with gentleness, and al-'lowance is made for his natural timidity and awk-'wardness. His duty is repeatedly explained to 'him, and he is soon taught to know, that his 'body is to move only at the word of command, 'and that at the word *halt*, he is to be as im-'moveable as a statue. Indeed, the leading prin-'ciple of his majesty's military system seems to be, to

mans. As to the militia of England, it is certainly not upon the footing that it ought to be; it is abundantly too much in the power of the crown; and, in framing our militia laws, the representatives of the people have not paid that attention, which they ought to have done, to the interests of their constituents, and of their country. But still the English militia is upon a footing extremely different from the standing army of Prussia; and the standing army of England depends wholly, for its subsistence, by the constitution, upon the votes of the British parliament.

[118] View of Society and Manners, &c. vol. II. p. 202, 203.

'reduce

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'reduce his troops to the nature of machines, to 'teach them to have no will of their own, and to 'be as deaf and as pitileſs as their muſkets [389].' It is alſo farther remarked by Dr. Moore, that 'the common ſtate of ſlavery in Aſia, or that to 'which people of civil profeſſions in the moſt de-'ſpotic countries are ſubject, is freedom in com-'pariſon of this kind of military ſlavery [c]. The 'former

[389] Obſervations on the Military Eſtabliſhment, &c. p. 85.

[c] M. Riefbeck, in his Travels, has taken much pains to convince his readers, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers enjoy more happineſs than is commonly ſuppoſed; and, indeed, the condition of a Pruſſian ſoldier, whoſe pay amounts to about two-pence halfpenny a day, and who, when performing his exerciſe, is ſubjected to puniſhment for coughing or for ſneezing, or for the moſt trifling and involuntary accident reſpecting his arms, muſt certainly be a very high ſtate of human felicity. But Frederick himſelf was extremely apprehenſive, that many of his men might be too perverſe to view their ſituation in this favourable light. For, in no other army that ever exiſted, were ſuch extraordinary pains taken for the prevention of Deſertion. Some of Frederick's regulations for this purpoſe may be ſeen in his Inſtructions for his generals; and Dr. Moore remarks, that 'however 'deſirous a Pruſſian ſoldier may be to deſert, the thing is almoſt 'impoſſible. The moment a man is miſſing, a certain number 'of cannons are fired, which announce the deſertion to the 'whole country. The peaſants have a conſiderable reward for 'ſeizing a deſerter, and are liable to ſevere penalties if they har-'bour, or aid him in making his eſcape, and parties from the 'garriſon are ſent after him in every direction. As none of 'the ſoldiers are ever allowed to go without the walls of the 'town (of Berlin), it requires great addreſs to get over this 'firſt difficulty; and when they have been ſo far fortunate, many

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'former are not continually under the eyes of their tyrants, but for long intervals of time may enjoy life without reſtraint, and as their taſte dictates; but all the foreign ſoldiers in this ſervice, and thoſe of the natives, who are ſuſpected of any intention to deſert, and conſequently never allowed furloughs, are always under the eye of ſomebody, who has the power, and too often the inclination, to controul every action of their bodies, and every deſire of their hearts [330].'

'chances remain againſt their eſcaping through the Pruſſian dominions; and even when they arrive ſafe in any of the neighbouring ſtates,

'*Nunc eadem fortuna viros tot caſibus actos*
'*Inſequitur.*

'For there they will probably be obliged to enliſt again as ſoldiers; ſo that on the whole, however unhappy they may be, it is abſurd to attempt deſertion in any other way than by killing themſelves; which method, as I am told, begins to prevail.' View of Society and Manners, ubi ſupra, p. 144, 145, 146.

The travels of M. Ricſbeck contain much curious information reſpecting ſeveral parts of Germany; but he was little acquainted with England, and was ill qualified to form ſuch a comparative eſtimate, as he has attempted to make, between the different ſituation of Engliſh and Pruſſian farmers. Much, therefore, of what he has ſaid upon this ſubject is extremely abſurd; and his book contains many other injudicious and ill grounded reflexions relative to the character, conduct, and adminiſtration, of the late king of Pruſſia.

[330] View of Society and Manners, &c. ubi ſupra, p. 149, 150.

No

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No advantages reſulting from a ſtanding army can be a compenſation for the evil, of keeping ſo great a number of men in a ſtate ſo ſervile, and ſo diſhonourable to human nature. But, indeed, thoſe large armies, which are now kept up in the different nations of Europe, are not maintained for the benefit of the people at whoſe expence they are ſupported, but for the preſervation, and augmentation, of the power of their ſeveral princes. Count Hertzberg, however, ſays, ſpeaking of the Pruſſian army, 'When an army is conſtituted and employed like ours, it is not a burthen, but rather a benefit to the ſtate; and the more ſo, becauſe it affords a ſubſtantial ſecurity againſt the ſudden and dangerous invaſions of any ambitious neighbour. In general, it appears to me, that it is now decided by undoubted experience, that if large ſtanding armies increaſe in ſome degree the burthen, and the expences, of the inhabitants of a country, they abundantly compenſate for this inconvenience by the ſecurity that they afford; and they alſo render wars leſs frequent, and leſs dangerous; becauſe that every power being armed, they mutually reſpect each other, whereby ſudden attacks, and unjuſt pretenſions, are prevented. Hence it may be juſtly ſaid, that by this great army the king has rendered a conſiderable ſervice to the human race, and eſtabliſhed a kind of PERPETUAL PEACE [331].' Of all that the

[331] Diſſertation ſur la Population, &c. p. 21.

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count has advanced upon this ſubject, the hiſtory of the reign of Frederick alone appears to be a ſufficient refutation. He had always a numerous ſtanding army; but he was engaged in long, repeated, and ſanguinary wars; and it was certainly not true, during any part of his reign, that the different ſtates of Europe were ſecure from ſudden attacks, or from unjuſt pretenſions. The fact really is, that ſuch numerous ſtanding armies can be conſtantly kept up for no other purpoſes but thoſe of ambition; they are pernicious to the people by whom they are ſupported, and dangerous to the countries which ſurround them; and they ſhould, therefore, by the enlightened nations of Europe, be univerſally diſcountenanced.

As to the Pruſſian government, no doubt can be entertained, but that it is in a very high degree deſpotic; and count Hertzberg has endeavoured to prove, that this is the beſt kind of government, if it be well adminiſtered [332]. But the probability always is, that this ſpecies of government will not be well adminiſtered; and however ably or well it may be adminiſtered, it is a ſtate of things in which human nature is degraded, and greatly inferior to a free conſtitution of government. A limited form of government, in which a proper attention is paid to the rights of the people, muſt ever be ſuperior to any mode of deſpotic government, whatever may be the character or abilities

[332] Diſſertation, ubi ſupra, p. 32.

of

of the prince. It has been well obſerved by Mr. Adams, that 'the beſt and wiſeſt prince, by means 'of a freer communication with his people, and 'the greater opportunities to collect the beſt ad- 'vice from the beſt of his ſubjects, would have 'an immenſe advantage in a free ſtate more than 'in a monarchy. A ſenate conſiſting of all that 'is moſt noble, wealthy, and able in the nation, 'with a right to counſel the crown at all times, is 'a check to miniſters, and a ſecurity againſt abuſes, 'that a body of nobles who never meet, and have 'no ſuch right, can never accompliſh. Another 'aſſembly, compoſed of repreſentatives choſen by 'the people in all parts, gives the whole nation 'free acceſs, and communicates all the wants, 'knowledge, projects, and wiſhes of the nation, 'to government; excites an emulation among all 'claſſes, removes complaints, redreſſes grievances, 'affords opportunities of exertion to genius, though 'in obſcurity, and gives full ſcope to all the fa- 'culties of man; opens a paſſage for every ſpe- 'culation to the legiſlature, to adminiſtration, and 'to the public: it gives a univerſal energy to the 'human character, in every part of the ſtate, which 'which never can be obtained in a monarchy[333].' CHAP. XXXIX.

COUNT Hertzberg ſays, that 'ſelf-love, or per- 'ſonal intereſt, which is the great mover of all 'human actions, is more effectually directed to the

[333] Pref. to a Defence of the Conſtitutions of Government of the United States of America, p. 10.

'hap-

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'happineſs of a ſociety, and of a ſtate, by a ſingle 'man, who finds it his own intereſt, than by many, 'who are never united, and who even cannot unite 'their views and their intereſts. If men poſſeſſed 'of the virtue and fortitude of ARISTIDES, of 'SCIPIO, and of CHATHAM, have not been able 'to ſucceed, and have rather abandoned the reins 'to an ariſtocracy, no other perſon ought to enter-'tain hopes of ſucceeding [334].' He alſo endeavours to ſhew, that deſpotic governments may produce regulations for the public much ſuperior to any which can comport with the nature of limited governments. But this, I think, I may venture to affirm, that though the Engliſh conſtitution is not without defects [D], and though there are often errors and miſconduct in the public adminiſtration, yet there is no deſpotic government upon earth, in which the intereſts of the great body of the people are ſo ſubſtantially promoted as in Great Britain. It often happens, at the cloſe of a ſeſſion, that the parliament of England have not done all that they might for the intereſt of the nation; and they not unfrequently, by paſſing new and injudicious laws,

[334] Diſſertation, ut ſupra.

[D] Among thoſe evils which the moſt loudly call for redreſs in England, one is, the practice of impreſſing ſeamen, which is a diſgrace to the nation, and totally inconſiſtent with the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. It reflects no honour on the repreſentatives of the people, that they have hitherto paid ſo little attention to the plans that have been propoſed, for the removal of this grievance.

leave

leave their conſtituents in a worſe ſituation than before they aſſembled. But ſuch is the general excellence of the conſtitution [E], that the people of England, notwithſtanding the occaſional errors of their legiſlators, are always in a better ſituation, than the inhabitants of any deſpotic countries, whatever may be the talents of the princes who rule over ſuch countries, or however able or upright the miniſters whom thoſe princes may employ. In no country is the perſonal liberty and property of the inhabitants better ſecured; the laws are their ſecurity; and they are not dependent on

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[E] The more excellent and valuable the Engliſh conſtitution is, the more vigilant ought the inhabitants of Great Britain to be in its ſupport and preſervation. It ſhould not too haſtily be ſuppoſed, that becauſe it has continued long, it is therefore in no danger of being over-turned. Circumſtances occaſionally ariſe, which ſeem not favourable to its continuance; and which ought at leaſt to put the people on their guard. The ſtanding army is voted with too little conſideration or inquiry; the militia is not regulated as it ought to be; and the vaſt and perpetual augmentation of the exciſe is very unfavourable to national liberty. But great extenſions of the exciſe-laws have been ſupported, in both houſes of parliament, by men from whom better things might have been expected, and who have urged too much the plea of neceſſity. It does not follow, that becauſe it is neceſſary that money ſhould be raiſed for the purpoſes of government, that therefore no attention ſhould be paid to the mode by which money is to be raiſed; and it ſhould always be remembered by the people, that too implicit a confidence ought not to be placed in any adminiſtration whatever. A vigilant attention in the nation to the conduct of thoſe in power, is eſſential to the exiſtence and continuance of public freedom.

the

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the will of the prince, or the caprice of his miniſters. In a government like that of Pruſſia, or in any other deſpotic government, if the prince be of a mild and beneficent diſpoſition, the ſubject may ſay, The king is good and gracious, and he will not oppreſs me. But the Engliſhman ſays, whatever may be the character of the prince, This is my property, and theſe are my rights, and the king himſelf dare not take them from me. In a deſpotic government, however ably it may be adminiſtered, and whatever may be the virtues of the monarch, human nature is always in a ſtate of degradation; and a deſpotic government, however it be exerciſed, muſt ever be an irrational government. For it never can be conſonant to reaſon, that the lives, liberties, and property of a whole nation, ſhould be ſubjected to the will, pleaſure, or caprice, of a ſingle man, whatever may be the compaſs of his knowledge, or whatever the extent of his abilities.

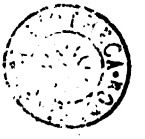
COUNT Hertzberg appears to be an upright, able, and well informed miniſter, and poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities; but he has thoſe prejudices in favour of a deſpotic government, which are natural to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince. In juſtice to him, it ſhould, however, be obſerved, that notwithſtanding what he has ſaid in favour of a deſpotic government, yet, on the acceſſion of the preſent king to the throne of Pruſſia, he adviſed him to confirm, to the inhabitants of Eaſtern and Weſtern Pruſſia, their antient rights and privileges.

With this advice the king complied; thereby giving this advice count Hertzberg did himself great honour, and at the same time promoted the interest both of the prince and of the people. But, unfortunately, in any country where so large a standing army is kept up, as that in the Prussian dominions, the privileges of the people must ever be too much dependent on the mere will and pleasure of the monarch. CHAP. XXXIX.

In the course of this Work, I have had occasion to relate many transactions of war and bloodshed; and the period of time, which this history comprehends, exhibited too many scenes of carnage and of desolation. But it may be hoped, that, from a more general diffusion of knowledge, mankind will be at length convinced, that the arts of peace are much more worthy of cultivation than those of war; that a great part of the human race ought not to be sacrificed, to gratify the pride and the ambition of a few individuals, who may accidentally be placed in splendid situations; that the rights of men are of much greater importance than the prerogatives of princes; that government was instituted for the benefit of human society at large, and not for the private emolument of those who are invested with the offices of magistracy; and that the great objects of the philosopher, and of every enlightened legislator, should be, the advancement of those sciences, and of those arts, that tend to the

CHAP. XXXIX. true dignity and felicity of human beings; the promotion of universal peace and liberty; and communicating to men, throughout every quarter of the globe, the bleſſings of a mild, a juſt, and an equal government.

FINIS.



## ERRATA.

Vol. I. p. 9. For *furpring*, read *furprizing*.

Vol. II. p. 125. l. 5. for *Dreſden*, read *Leipſic*; laſt line, for 474. read 473.

P. 194. l. 23. for *two thouſand*, read *ten thouſand*.

P. 497. l. 10. for *Ricſbeck*, read *Rieſbeck*.

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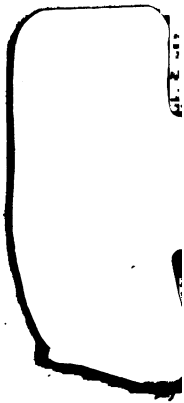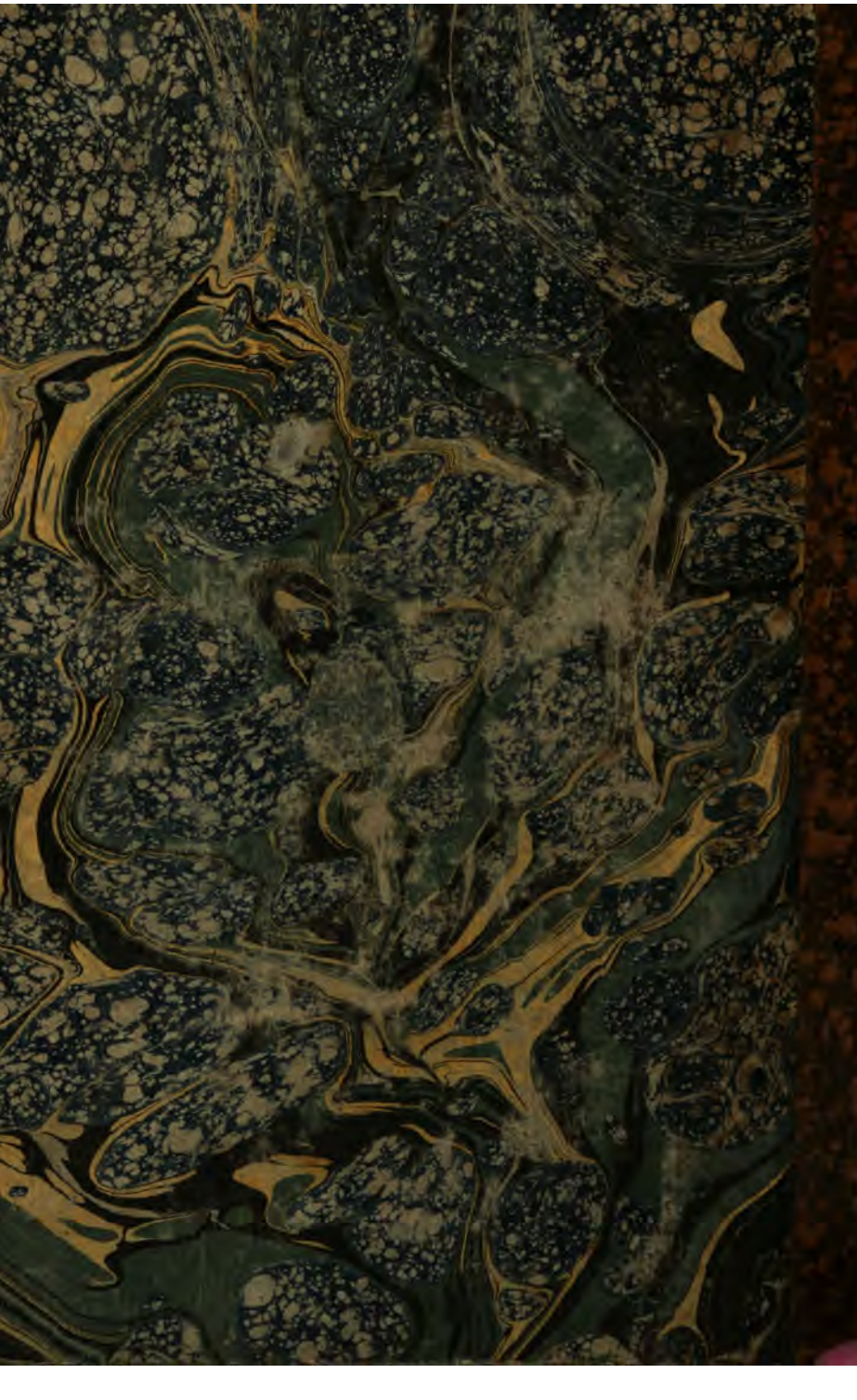
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